

**FINAL SENTENCES IN BIBLICAL HEBREW NARRATIVE  
PROSE FROM GENESIS TO 2 KINGS**

**BY**

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**DISSERTATION PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF  
LITERATURE IN ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN STUDIES  
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH**



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**FEBRUARY 2000**

## DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.



## ABSTRACT

Final sentences are a neglected area of research in Biblical Hebrew. Apart from an investigation by Mitchell (1879) in the previous century, and a more recent article by Muraoka (1997), this is certainly an area of Biblical Hebrew grammar in need of research.

Biblical Hebrew grammars propound a variety of ways final constructions can supposedly be expressed. The main thesis of this study is that the diversity of final constructions in Biblical Hebrew is not merely different syntactic realizations of the same semantic meaning, but that each syntactic construction carries definite semantic nuances.

Traditional grammars, because they are sentence-based, present some shortcomings in the description of final sentences. I will briefly expose some of the linguistic presuppositions of traditional grammars, and their inherent limitations with respect to the study of final constructions.

Recent developments in general linguistics, especially the variety of approaches subsumed under the broad classification textlinguistics, create new opportunities to address Biblical Hebrew grammar. I will explore these relatively recent developments to the study of language, in order to determine whether insights from studies conducted in terms of this paradigm can be used to describe final constructions more adequately.

A number of theses are presented in Chapters 2 and 3, which are evaluated in Chapters 4 to 6. The findings are presented in a summary at the end of each chapter. The final results of this investigation are summarized in Chapter 7.

## SAMEVATTING

Finaalsinne het tot dusver min aandag geniet in Bybelse Hebreeuse navorsing. Afgesien van 'n ondersoek deur Mitchell (1879) in die vorige eeu, en 'n onlangse artikel deur Muraoka (1997), is hierdie 'n navorsingsgebied wat vra om nadere ondersoek.

Volgens Bybelse Hebreeuse grammatikas kan finaalsinne op verskeie wyses uitgedruk word. Die hooftese van hierdie studie is dat die verskeidenheid van finaalkonstruksies in Bybelse Hebreeus nie bloot verskillende sintaktiese opsies is om dieselfde semantiese betekenis te realiseer nie, maar dat elke onderskeie sintaktiese konstruksie 'n besondere semantiese nuanse weergee.

Omdat hulle eng op die beskrywing van die sin gebaseer is, hou tradisionele grammatikas tekortkominge in vir die beskrywing van finaalsinne. In hierdie studie wys ek kortliks op die linguistiese voorveronderstellings van die tradisionele benadering, en op die inherente tekortkominge van so 'n benadering ten opsigte van die ondersoek van finaalsinne.

Onlangse ontwikkelinge in die algemene linguistiek, veral die verskeidenheid benaderings saamgevat onder die begrip tekslinguistiek, bied nuwe moontlikhede vir die beskrywing van Bybelse Hebreeus. Ek sal hierdie nuwe benadering tot taalstudie ondersoek om vas te stel of dit aangewend kan word om finaalsinne beter te beskryf.

Verskeie tesse word in Hoofstukke 2 en 3 geformuleer en dan in Hoofstukke 4 tot 6 geëvalueer. Die resultate word aan die einde van elke hoofstuk saamgevat. Die uiteindelijke konklusies van hierdie studie word in Hoofstuk 7 saamgevat.

Dedicated to the Loving Memory of my Mother, Caroline Payle



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the assistance and guidance of my promoter Dr Christo van der Merwe. I have learnt to value his critical comments and suggestions and, at the same time though, appreciated the scope and liberty he has entrusted me in the development of this project.

I am greatly indebted to Professor Walter Gross of the Catholic Theological Faculty, Eberhardt Karls University, Tuebingen, Germany. The four months during 1997 which I spent doing research in his department, his openness and willingness to help, and the very stimulating academic environment, will always be remembered. I also thank Professor Eep Talstra of the Free University in Amsterdam, who kindly allowed me access to his Quest program which I have used to gather much of my data.

I thank the Dean and colleagues at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of the North, especially my brothers and sisters in the Department of Biblical Sciences, whose support and encouragement were always appreciated. I am greatly indebted to my Head of Department, Professor Joe Ramashapa for his unwavering support and interest in my progress. A word of gratitude to my friend and former colleague, Holger Szesnat, whose constant encouragement kept me going even at times when things did not go all that well.

Financial support from the University of the North, the Irish Government Scholarship, administered by the Department of Research at the University of the North, and the German Academic Exchange Service is gratefully acknowledged.

My colleague and friend, Dr Donavon Hiss, I thank for his meticulous work in the painstaking task of proofreading this manuscript, and for improving the format of this thesis.

Finally, recognition also goes to my family and to the maze of human contacts from whom I have learned, and who contributed directly and indirectly to my development and wellbeing. And to my daughters Carin and Julia who make all struggles worthwhile.

## ABBREVIATIONS

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| AB    | THE ANCHOR BIBLE   |
| BHS   | BIBLIA HEBRAICA STUTTGARTENSIA                           |
| BKAT  | BIBLISCHER KOMMENTAR ALTES TESTAMENT                     |
| BN    | BIBLISCHER NOTIZEN                                       |
| BO    | BIBLIOTHECA ORIENTALIS                                   |
| HUCA  | HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUAL                              |
| ICC   | INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY                        |
| JBL   | JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE                           |
| JNES  | JOURNAL OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES                          |
| JNSL  | JOURNAL OF NORTHWEST SEMITIC LANGUAGES                   |
| JQR   | JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW                                  |
| JSOT  | JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT               |
| KJV   | KING JAMES VERSION                                       |
| LA    | LANGUAGE   |
| NEB   | NEW ENGLISH BIBLE  |
| NICOT | THE NEW INTERNATIONAL COMMENTARY OF THE OLD<br>TESTAMENT |
| NIV   | NEW INTERNATIONAL VERSION                                |
| NRSV  | NEW REVISED STANDARD VERSION                             |
| OLZ   | ORIENTALISCHER LITERATURZEITUNG                          |
| OTL   | OLD TESTAMENT LIBRARY                                    |
| RSV   | REVISED STANDARD VERSION                                 |
| TZ    | THEOLOGISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT                                 |
| VT    | VETUS TESTAMENTUM  |
| VTs   | VETUS TESTAMENTUM SUPPLEMENT                             |
| WBC   | WORLD BIBLICAL COMMENTARY                                |
| ZAH   | ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ALTHEBRAISTIK                            |
| ZAW   | ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE ALTTESTAMENTLICHE WISSENSCHAFT       |

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

The present study is an investigation into the linguistic expressions of final constructions in Biblical Hebrew narrative prose. The investigation is presented in seven chapters.

In Chapter 2, I will state the problem and provide briefly an historical overview of the treatment of final sentences in Biblical Hebrew grammars. Provisional hypotheses will be formulated, based on the insights drawn from the grammars, and the corpus for this investigation will be delimited.

In Chapter 3, I will explore the challenges and prospects that modern textlinguistic approaches hold for the investigation of final constructions. This is deemed necessary due to the limitations inherent in traditional grammatical approaches which will become apparent in the historical overview in Chapter 2. A textlinguistic framework for this study will accordingly be outlined. Based on the methodological insights gained from the textlinguistic approaches, the initial hypotheses will be expanded.

In Chapter 4 final constructions introduced by final conjunctions, the so-called conjunctive final constructions will be investigated and evaluated in the light of the hypotheses formulated in Chapter 3 regarding these constructions. These constructions present an appropriate starting point to the investigation of final constructions as they are

more easily recognized as such since they are “marked” by their conjunctions as final constructions.

In Chapter 5, the conjunctionless final sentences will be analyzed. Attention will be paid to their unique characteristics. Insights gained from the investigation into the study of conjunctive final constructions in Chapter 4 will be reviewed with respect to the investigation into conjunctionless final constructions in Chapter 5. The hypothesis formulated in Chapter 3 concerning conjunctionless final sentences will be reconsidered in the light of the findings of the conjunctive constructions and consequently confirmed, expanded or modified.

In Chapter 6, an analysis of Genesis 27 will be made. This text represents an excellent case study as it contains examples of both the conjunctionless and conjunctive final constructions in a coherent narrative. Genesis 27 consequently provides the possibility to compare the two categories of final constructions and to apply and test my hypothesis concerning their usage in a coherent text. The premise for this investigation stems from the insights gained from the individual studies that were discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Chapter 7 will briefly summarize the main conclusions of this study.



## CHAPTER 2

### PROBLEM STATEMENT AND HYPOTHESES

#### 2.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Biblical Hebrew grammars present a variety of ways in which final constructions can supposedly be expressed. The problem is even greater in Bible translations, where a great number of Biblical Hebrew constructions are translated as final sentences into the English language. Are all these cases really syntactic realizations of final sentences in Biblical Hebrew? If they are, why such a variety? If not, what syntactic means did Biblical Hebrew writers have at their disposal to express a final relation? Final sentences sometimes express the function purpose, on other occasions result. Can these notions be syntactically differentiated?<sup>1</sup>

This study is an investigation into the syntactic description of final constructions<sup>2</sup> in Biblical Hebrew narrative prose texts from Genesis to 2 Kings. Except for a recent article by Muraoka (1997, 229-241) entitled, “The alleged final function of the Biblical Hebrew syntagm <*waw* + a volitive form>” no recent comprehensive study has been undertaken on the subject as far as I am aware of. The study by Mitchell (1879), “Final constructions in Biblical Hebrew: An examination of some of the final constructions in Biblical Hebrew”, is not only dated, but covers only a section of the corpus, the infinitive constructions with preposition *ל*. Recent

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<sup>1</sup>Jouon-Muraoka (1991, 633) note “Hebrew does not make any strict distinction between them, and often we may not quite be sure about the precise nuance.” Waltke and O’Connor (1990, 38) likewise note, “In Hebrew (as in many languages) the expression of purpose and consequence are not always readily distinguished; the precise sense of the relevant constructions and particles must be determined from the context.” Cf. also Meek (1956, 40-43).

developments in general linguistics, especially the variety of approaches subsumed under the broad classification textlinguistics, create new opportunities to address some of the problematic constructions of Biblical Hebrew.

In this chapter I will present a brief historical overview of the treatment of final constructions in Biblical Hebrew grammars. The grammars in question are Gesenius, Kautzsch and Cowley, henceforth referred to as GKC, Joüon-Muraoka, Williams and Waltke and O'Connor. Based on this analysis, I will present an initial hypothesis, and delimitate the corpus to be investigated in this study. I will then present an evaluation of two problems that are narrowly related to the study of final constructions, i.e., mood and modality and that of co- and subordination. I will illustrate what implications insights from this investigation have for the study of final constructions. Finally, I will draw a few conclusions that will further serve as a framework for the investigation to be undertaken in this thesis.

## **2.2 FINAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN BIBLICAL HEBREW: A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THEIR TREATMENT IN BIBLICAL HEBREW GRAMMARS**

The acute awareness of the limitations of traditional sentence-based approaches to grammatical description has prompted this study. In the discussion that follows I will survey the treatment of final constructions in different Hebrew grammars. This investigation reveals a remarkable variety of syntactic constructions by which a final relation can, supposedly, be realized.

### **2.2.1 Gesenius, Kautzsch and Cowley (1909)**

The above authors discuss final constructions under the heading “Special Kinds of Sentences,” and regard final and consecutive clauses as two separate syntactic categories. They specify two main categories for final clauses:

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<sup>2</sup>I make a distinction between the terms final construction, final sentence, and final clause. See paragraph 2.3.



1. Those which are joined to the main clause by a simple *waw* copulative. In some cases the final sentence is sub-ordinated directly to the governing verb. GKC proceed to give various examples without discussing them, except for a brief comment. Examples: 2 Samuel 9:1, 1 Kings 11:21, 2 Samuel 13:25.
2. Final sentences introduced by final conjunctions *לְמַעַן*, *בְּעֵבוּר*, *אֲשֶׁר*, etc. Examples: Genesis 12:13, Joshua 3:7, Exodus 20:20.

GKC consider the infinitive constructions with preposition *לְ* as equivalent to the final clause (Genesis 11:5), and point out that negative final clauses are introduced by *בְּלֹא*.

The most important insights gained from GKC's treatment of final constructions are, firstly, their recognition of final clauses as members of two-element syntactic constructions consisting of a main clause and a final clause. Final clauses, according to GKC, are thus dependent or sub-ordinated clauses. They are sub-ordinated to a preceding main clause either by a *waw* or by the mentioned final conjunctions. Secondly, and equally important, is their treatment of final and consecutive (result) clauses as syntactically distinct categories.

### 2.2.2 Joüon-Muraoka (1991)

Final constructions are discussed under the section "Indirect volitive moods (cohortative, jussive, imperative)," though they never refer to the sentence types in the discussion as final constructions. Some of the more pertinent observations by Joüon-Muraoka follow.

Volitive moods, according to Joüon-Muraoka (1991, 381), have two functions: when "used with a *purely juxtaposing waw* they are direct volitives. When used with a *waw* expressing the notion of purpose and/or consecution they are indirect or logically sub-ordinate volitives" (*italics mine*). Unfortunately, Joüon-Muraoka do not indicate when *waw* is "purely juxtaposing" and when it is "a *waw* expressing the notion of purpose or consecution." They also point out that "the indirect volitive can express purpose as well as consecution: the exact



nuance can only be derived from the context” (381). They further observe that it is difficult to distinguish between the notions purpose and consecution (a term they prefer instead of the more commonly used designation, result), since “one is dealing with an intended effect or result” (382). Joüon-Muraoka conclude by formulating the following rule: “To express purpose or consecution the cohortative is used for the 1<sup>st</sup> person, the imperative for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person, and the jussive for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person” (385).

Whereas the focus of GKC was to define final constructions syntactically, Joüon-Muraoka’s treatment of the construction concentrates on semantic issues that specify differences of meaning. They omit to add detail on syntactic markers that differentiate meaning in related constructions. Their distinction between direct and indirect volitives seems confusing and it is not clear whether this contrast has any syntactic significance. Only upon careful consideration of their examples does it become apparent that indirect volitives refer to volitives which are syndetic and are the second element of two consecutive volitives. They treat the first volitive as a direct volitive and from their examples it appears that direct volitives are mostly asyndetic (Joüon-Muraoka claim though that direct volitives are used with “a purely juxtaposing waw” - examples: Genesis 27:4, 1 Samuel 27:5, Exodus 3:3). These examples all have a volition form followed by a syndetic cohortative. From their examples it is clear that Joüon-Muraoka’s indirect volitive moods are simply volitive moods co-ordinated and/or sub-ordinated to a preceding volitive mood.

Although they do not spell it out in this way, Joüon-Muraoka’s treatment again show final constructions as two-element constructions. The first element is occupied by a volitional form which they call the direct volition. The second element is sub-ordinated to the first and also occupied by a volitional form, which they refer to as indirect volitives. They also indicate that final sentences are occupied by verbal forms expressing modality. Joüon-Muraoka, because they do not deal with final constructions per se, but discuss related constructions in their

treatment of “Indirect volitive moods” subsequently do not deal with conjunctive final sentences.

Muraoka (1997, 229-241) in a recent article, completely revises the view regarding the indirect volitives expressed in Joüon-Muraoka. According to him, these constructions (i.e., consecutive cohortatives) do not express purpose. He points out that in most such examples the subject of the two consecutive volitives is not the same. The following quotation captures Muraoka’s revised position:

In summing up we would say that the syntagm in question does not have a function of formally indicating a purpose. A sequence of volitive verb forms is a series of so many expressions of the speaker’s or writer’s wish and will. The fact that in some cases the second verb can be more elegantly translated as indicating a purpose of the first is essentially a question of pragmatics and translation techniques, and not of descriptive grammar and syntax (1997, 240).<sup>3</sup>

### 2.2.3 Williams (1984)

Williams discusses final constructions under the section “Syntax of Clauses” (1984, 86). Unlike Joüon-Muraoka, he differentiates between final and result clauses as two distinct syntactic categories. He claims, unambiguously, that final clauses express purpose. However, according to Williams final clauses do not express result. Biblical Hebrew has a separate syntactic category to express result.

Williams proceeds to list seven ways in which final clauses can be realized:

1. By means of the simple *waw* with the precative mood (Genesis 27:4).
2. By means of *waw* and the imperative mood (2 Samuel 21:3).
3. The preposition וְ and the construct infinitive (1 Kings 18:42).
4. The conjunction וַיְהִי and the imperfect aspect (Genesis 12:13).

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<sup>3</sup>Compare also my discussion of consecutive cohortatives in section 5.9.



5. The conjunction **בְּעִבּוֹר** with a noun clause<sup>4</sup> (Genesis 27:4).
6. By the combination of the particle **אֲשֶׁר** with a noun clause (Exodus 9:16).
7. Negative purpose introduced by **בְּלֹא** (Exodus 20:20) or rarely **לֹא לְמַעַן** (Numbers 17:5).

Williams, seemingly, commenced with the functional notion “purpose” and then proceeded to list as many constructions as possible which can presumably express this function. He does not say whether his list is exhaustive. He describes final clauses without consideration of the main clause. Important in William’s approach to final constructions is that he does not treat final and result clauses as a single syntactic category as Waltke and O’Connor do, but discusses each category separately.

#### 2.2.4 Waltke and O’Connor (1990)

Waltke and O’Connor deal with final constructions in two different sections of their syntax. In their chapter on the “Jussive, Imperative and Cohortative” they discuss final constructions under the headings “Cohortative in Dependent Clauses” (575) and “Jussive and Cohortative after Imperative” (577). They do not refer to these examples as final constructions in that section.

In their first section, “Cohortative in Dependent Clauses,” they argue that the cohortative form appears “with the nuance of purpose or intended result” (575), after another volitional form (Genesis 18:30), and sometimes after a question (1 Kings 22:7). In the second section, “Jussive and Cohortative after Imperative” they point out that after an imperative ... a verbal form not preceded by its subject or a negative particle is normally either a jussive ... or a cohortative” (577). They note, quite correctly I believe, that in the chain described above, “The second volitional form signifies purpose or result, in contrast to the sequence *imperative*

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<sup>4</sup>Here William’s description is somewhat confusing as **בְּעִבּוֹר** should be followed by the PC to realize a final clause.

+ *imperative*” (577). This discussion, like that of Joüon-Muraoka, shows that the verbal forms used in final clauses are verbs expressing modality.

Waltke and O’Connor also investigate “Final and Result Clauses” in their chapter on co- and sub-ordination (638–640). They claim that, “In Hebrew (as in many languages) expressions of purpose and consequence are not always readily distinguished; the precise sense of the relevant constructions and particles must be determined from the context” (638). They recognize final constructions as two-element constructions indicating that “The main clause expresses a situation, and the sub-ordinate clause either a purpose (final and telic clause) or a consequence.” They further maintain that the conjunction **אֲשֶׁר** is common in a variety of final and result clauses (Deuteronomy 4:10, Genesis 22:14). Lastly, they show that final clauses are introduced by **לְמַעַן** with or without **אֲשֶׁר** (Exodus 4:5, Genesis 18:19), and by **בְּעֵבֶר**, with or without **אֲשֶׁר**, (Psalm 105:45, Genesis 27:10) (1990, 639). Negated final clauses are introduced by **אֲשֶׁר**, with **לֹא** (Genesis 11:7, 2 Kings 9:27), or **בִּין**, (Judges 9:5), and **לְמַעַן לֹא** (Psalm 119:11).

Waltke and O’Connor treat final and result clauses as a single syntactic entity. However, they do not give due cognizance to the main clause that precedes the final clause. Upon closer scrutiny of their examples, one discerns from the instances of purpose and result clauses which they cite, that these constructions can indeed be divided into two distinct syntactic categories.

### 2.2.5 Overview of Typical Examples of Final Constructions in Biblical Hebrew Grammars

In the preceding section I have discussed the treatment of final constructions in four Biblical Hebrew grammars. In this discussion I focused on their individual approaches to the problem, without commenting on specific examples used in the grammars. The examples in the



following table are representative of final and result clauses discussed in the grammars under consideration.

**Table 1: Summary of Typical Final and Result Clauses from Biblical Hebrew Grammars.**

| Verse   | Hebrew Text  | Comment   |
|---|--|---|
| 1 Kings 18:42<br>Williams                             | וַיַּעַל אַחֲזָב לֶאֱכֹל וּלְשָׁתוֹת   | A final relation is realized between wayyiqtol in the matrix followed by an infinitival construction.   |
| Genesis 12:13<br>Williams, GKC                        | אָמַר יְהוָה אֶחָדִי אֶת<br>לְמַעַן יִשָּׁב־לִי בַעֲבוּרָךְ<br>וְחַיְתָּה נַפְשִׁי בְגִלְלָךְ:   | The final sentence is introduced by the conjunction לְמַעַן followed by a Prefix Conjugation. <sup>5</sup> The matrix is occupied by a volitional form.   |
| Deuteronomy 4:10<br>Waltke and O'Connor               | וַאֲשַׁמְעֶם אֶת־דְּבָרִי<br>אֲשֶׁר יִלְמְדוּן לִירְאָה אֹתִי  | The final sentence is introduced by the relative אֲשֶׁר followed by a PC.   |
| 1 Samuel 15:15 <sup>6</sup><br>Waltke and O'Connor    | לְמַעַן זָכַח לַיהוָה  | The conjunction לְמַעַן followed by an infinitive constitutes the final sentence.   |
| 2 Kings 5:7<br>Waltke and O'Connor                    | וַיֹּאמֶר הָאֱלֹהִים<br>אֲנִי לְהַמִּית וּלְהַחְיֹת<br>כִּי־יִזְוָה שְׁלַח אֵלַי   | This construction has an interrogative sentence in the matrix, and a result clause is introduced by the particle כִּי.  |
| 1 Kings 21:13<br>Williams                             | וַיִּסְקְלוּהוּ בְּאֲבָנִים וַיָּמָת:  | Result is expressed by consecutive wayyiqtol.   |
| Exodus 9:16<br>GKC                                    | וַאֲלֵם בַּעֲבוּר זֹאת הָעֲמֻדָּתִיךָ<br>בַּעֲבוּר הָרֵאשִׁית אֶת־כַּחֲזִי<br>וּלְמַעַן סִפֵּר שְׁמִי בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ:  | This sentence contains two co-ordinated final sentences introduced by בַּעֲבוּר and לְמַעַן respectively. Both are followed by an infinitive.   |
| Exodus 20:20<br>Williams, Waltke and<br>O'Connor, GKC | וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־הָעָם אֶל־תִּירָאוּ<br>כִּי לְבַעֲבוּר נְסוֹת אֲתָכֶם<br>בָּא הָאֱלֹהִים<br>וּבַעֲבוּר תִּהְיֶה יִרְאַתוֹ עַל־פְּנֵיכֶם<br>לְבַלְתִּי תַחֲטְאוּ | This verse contains three final sentences. Co-ordinated final sentences are followed by a negative final sentence (asyndetic and therefore not co-ordinated to the first two) introduced by לְבַלְתִּי. The first לְבַעֲבוּר is prefixed by לְ. |
| 2 Kings 5:10<br>Joüon-Muraoka                         | וַיִּשְׁלַח אֵלָיו אֱלִישָׁע מֶלְאָךְ לֵאמֹר<br>הֲלוֹךְ וְרַחֲצֵת שִׁבְעַ־פְּעָמִים בִּירְדֵּן<br>וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּשָׂרְךָ לֶךְ וְטָהַר:                                 | In this construction a final sentence is introduced by a syndetic PCSF.   |

The above examples show that final sentences are treated without giving consideration to the verbal forms used, or attention to the two constituents of a final construction, viz., the matrix

<sup>5</sup>Also referred to as yiqtol, and abbreviated henceforth as PC. I will also on occasion distinguish between the long form of the prefix conjugation (PCLF), and its short form (PCSF).

<sup>6</sup>I have deliberately omitted the matrix, and so taken the example directly from Waltke and O'Connor, to show how incomplete grammars sometimes present the material under discussion.



and final clause. The grammars also do not differentiate between final constructions as a syntactic category on the one hand, and as a semantic category on the other.

### 2.2.6 Evaluation of the Treatment of Final Constructions in Biblical Hebrew Grammars

I have already made some critical comments regarding each of the four grammars investigated. In the following, I propose to expound on two major concerns that all four grammars, either directly or indirectly, address. These are:

1. Two of the grammars discussed (Waltke and O'Connor, Joüon-Muraoka) treat final and result clauses as a single syntactic category, whereas the other two (GKC and Williams) regard them as separate syntactic categories. I would tend to agree with GKC and Williams based on the following reasons: Final constructions, as a single syntactic category, can express both purpose and result, without any difference in the syntax of the construction. It is my contention that one should distinguish between real result and intended result.<sup>7</sup> Final clauses, because they are occupied by modal verbal forms, can only express intended result. Real result, however, is a separate syntactic category quite distinct from final clauses. The verbal forms used (indicative as opposed to modal) and the unique syntax (consecutive wayyiqtol<sup>8</sup> can express real result)<sup>9</sup> distinguish real result as a different syntactic category. The problem with the above-mentioned Biblical

<sup>7</sup>The distinction made by Quirk et al. (1985, 1107-1108) is quite helpful in this regard. They note that the basic semantic difference between purpose and result clauses is that, whereas the former is putative, i.e., it is hypothetical, describing that which might be, or possibly come into existence, the latter is factual. They further claim that both purpose and result clauses express result (hence the difficulty in distinguishing between the two), the disparity being that, in the latter the result is actually achieved, whereas in the former the result has yet to be achieved. Purpose clauses can thus be described as a *desired* or *aimed at* result.

<sup>8</sup>According to Michel (1960, 20-21), wayyiqtol is not important in itself, but is used by the writer to indicate a dependant relationship to a preceding action. He asserts that, in examples where a perfect is followed by a wayyiqtol, the two forms do not have the same meaning. The perfect indicates action that stands absolute, independent, as a stated fact at the beginning of a series of actions. Wayyiqtol indicates actions that develops from this fact. The relation between the two verbal forms is therefore one of fact and consequence. Wayyiqtol, as a member of a construct chain, either continues the preceding chain, or expresses the result of a preceding action. Michel concludes that wayyiqtol "schein nach dem perf. eine aus dem Factum sich ergebende Handlung, nach einem impf. cs. ein in Verlauf einer fortlaufenden, sich aus- und nacheinander entwickelnden Handlungskette sich ergebendes Glied zu bezeichnen, in beiden Fällen also ein Folge".

<sup>9</sup>See section 2.2.5, 1 Kings 21:13. Real result can also be expressed by weqatal, cf. Longacre (1994, 52). Both the verbal forms wayyiqtol and weqatal are indicative, and therefore cannot express intended result.



Hebrew grammars is that they do not differentiate between real and intended result.

2. Problematic about the way in which these grammars treat final constructions is the fact that they do not give attention to the matrix or the governing sentence. This is particularly true of the approach of Waltke and O'Connor, Williams and, to a lesser extent, Joüon-Muraoka. As a result they neither differentiate sufficiently between the various sentences nor present their examples in a systematic way. GKC is the only grammar exempted from this criticism as they show that final clauses are members of two-element syntactic constructions and, as such, are the dependent element of that construction. GKC also clearly show that final clauses are introduced by *waw* or, alternatively, by a conjunction.

### **2.2.7 A Brief Overview of the Translation of Final Constructions in Modern English Bible Translations**

Closely related to the treatment of final constructions in Biblical Hebrew grammars are their translation in modern English Bibles. A brief consideration of the English translations is therefore deemed necessary as translators often allow themselves to be guided by Biblical Hebrew grammars and commentaries which, for their part, also draw on the grammars for their exegetical comments.<sup>10</sup> Some English translations underline the point that, since there is little consensus regarding which Biblical Hebrew constructions are syntactic realizations of final relations, a variety of constructions are consequently translated as such in the English language. The following examples sufficiently illustrate the point. The translations consulted were the Kings James Version (KJV), the New International Version (NIV), the New English

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<sup>10</sup>Gross (1996, 1) is severely critical of the way syntax is treated in biblical exegesis. He claims that "Die meisten exegetischen Monographien zitieren und analysieren nicht Sätze, sondern Verse bzw. Versteile, wobei die Unterteilung der Verse die masoretischen kantilenischen Akzente nachvollzieht, nicht aber Satzgrenzen berücksichtigt." He continues by asserting that "Die problematische Beziehung zwischen alttestamentlicher Exegese und Syntax des Althebräischen zeigt sich in der Tatsache, dass die meisten Dissertationen und Habilitationen im Bereich des AT unter souveräner Ignorierung neuerer syntaktischer Forschung sich mit Verweisen auf die Grammatik von Gesenius-Kautzsch aus dem Jahr 1909 begnügen ..."



Bible (NEB) and the Revised Standard Version (RSV). In each case, a brief comment indicates the differences and similarities between the translations.

It should be abundantly clear from the examples in Table 2 that Bible translators allow themselves great liberties in their treatment of final constructions. It appears that translators often depend on their “gut feeling” to translate such constructions. Rather than considering the syntax of the Biblical Hebrew construction, they seem to be guided by the following criterion: a construction is considered as final if it can be translated as such in the target language.

### 2.3 HYPOTHESIS

Before I spell out my hypothesis for this study, I need to make a few comments regarding the terminology I will use in this investigation and what I mean by it. In this study I will henceforth deliberately speak of “final constructions” when referring to the problem to be investigated. This is deemed practical as final constructions are two-element syntactic arrangements, consisting of a matrix or main sentence, and the final clause.<sup>11</sup>

I find the German distinction of “Vordersatz” for the matrix, and “Nachsatz” for the final clause particularly appropriate, as it clearly identifies and differentiates between the two components of the final construction. Although one is apt to translate the German “Satz” with “sentence” in English, I will use the term final sentence with reference to the “Nachsatz”. In this study therefore, the term “final sentence” will always refer to the “Nachsatz” and not the entire final construction.

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<sup>11</sup>Compare also Niccacci (1990, 125-151), who alludes to similar constructions as two-element syntactic constructions (2 SC). He refers to the “Vordersatz” as the protasis and the “Nachsatz” as the apodosis. I, however, prefer to avoid using these notions in this sense as they normally are used with reference to conditional sentences. Niccacci’s term “two-element construction” is a better notion than the designation “two-clause construction” as the elements of the constructions can be either clauses or sentences.

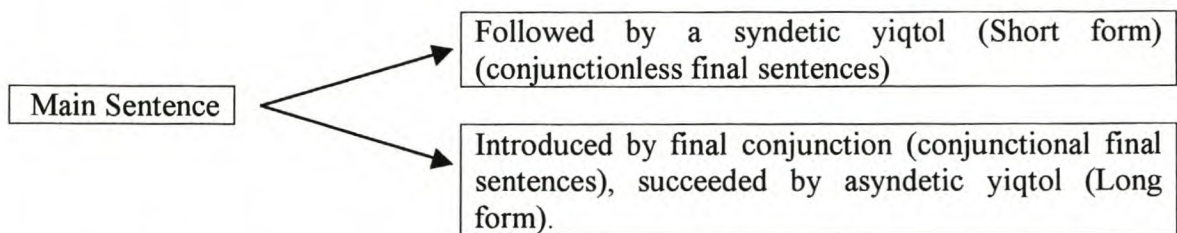


Table 2. Final Constructions in Bible Translations

| Verse        | Hebrew Text  | Translations  | Comment   |
|--------------|--|---|---|
| Genesis 1:26 | וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים<br>נַעֲשֶׂה אָדָם<br>בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כְּדִמוּתֵנוּ<br>וַיִּרְדּוּ  | <b><u>King James Version</u></b><br>“Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion ...”<br><b><u>New International Version</u></b><br>“Let us make man in our image, in our likeness, and let them rule over ...”<br><b><u>New English Bible</u></b><br>“Let us make man in our likeness and image to rule ...”  | The New International Version and the King James Version translate the weyiqtol following the cohortative as consecutive, whereas the New English Bible translates the same construction as final.  |
| 1 Samuel 9:8 | וַיֹּאמֶר<br>הִנֵּה נִמְצָא-בְיָדִי<br>רֶבַע שֶׁקֶל כֶּסֶף<br>וְנִתְּתִי<br>לְאִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים<br>וְהָגִיד אֶת-דְּרָכָנוּ<br>לָנוּ | <b><u>Revised Standard Version</u></b><br>“The servant answered Saul again, ‘Here, I have with me the fourth part of a shekel of silver, and I will give it to the man to tell us our way’ ...”<br><b><u>King James Version</u></b><br>And the servant answered Saul again, and said, Behold, I have here at hand the fourth part of a shekel of silver: <i>that</i> will I give to the man of God, to tell us our way.<br><b><u>New English Bible</u></b><br>Wait! I have here a quarter shekel of silver. I can give that to the man, to tell us what we should do. | Both RSV and NEB translations do not seem to have considered the weqatals which they translated as equivalent to an infinitival construction. KJV produced a really peculiar translation of the first weqatal, the second they translated as an infinitival construction. |

Although some grammars refer to the “Nachsatz” as the final clause (See GKC and Williams), I will use the term sentence. I would not want to enter into the discussion concerning the differentiation between a clause and sentence in this study, and sometimes use these designations interchangeably. The German language does not seem to make the distinction between a clause and a sentence as is done in English.

The matrix, as the independent element of the final construction will also be referred to as the main sentence or the main clause. Final constructions thus display the following pattern:



The above diagram illustrates that the “Nachsatz” of final constructions can be realized syntactically in one of two ways:

- (a) Those constructions which are introduced by a conjunction and, henceforth, referred to as conjunctive final constructions.
- (b) Those without conjunctions, hereinafter denoted as conjunctionless final constructions.<sup>12</sup>

These constructions are problematic as the verbal forms, which occupy them, are always introduced by a *waw*.

<sup>12</sup>I refrain from using the linguistic terms “marked” and “unmarked” as labels for the two groups. The notions marked and unmarked can refer to a variety of categories. In this study they refer specifically to the presence or absence of a conjunction in the final clause, respectively. It will be established later that Biblical Hebrew has very subtle grammatical means of marking its constructions, viz., word order, verbal form, position in the sentence, i.e., initial, non-initial, etc. Many of these “markers” have been overlooked by grammarians in the past. The terms conjunctive and conjunctionless which, following Kuhr (1929), I have chosen to use, are also not quite correct, as *waw*, which is always present in conjunctionless sentences, is also a conjunction. However, they present a more appropriate option than using the designations marked and unmarked. Compare also Van Wolde’s (1997, 25ff) discussion of the concept of markedness in Biblical Hebrew.



(c) The question asked then, is: when is this *waw* co-ordinate and when is it sub-ordinate?

Because of the importance of the problem of co- and sub-ordination to this study, I will elaborate on its relevance to this investigation in section 2.5.1.

In the above discussion, I have outlined some syntactic features of final constructions, based on my investigation of the mentioned grammars. These observations will form the basic premise for this investigation. Using the above-mentioned premises as my point of departure, I will investigate the following hypothesis in the rest of my study.

It is my contention that, with regard to “conjunctionless” final constructions:

1. The matrix is exclusively occupied by a verbal form expressing volition “*Aufforderung*”, for a final relation to be realized. Conjunctionless final constructions are, therefore, restricted to direct speech.
2. The “*Nachsatz*” of conjunctionless final constructions is also subject to a restriction: the verbal form that introduces the “*Nachsatz*” is always syndetic and prefix conjugation short form in cases where such a differentiation is morphologically marked.

With regard to “conjunctional” final constructions:

3. I expect to find that a greater variety of verbal forms occupy the matrix of conjunctional final constructions, and that this group realizes a final relation in both direct speech and narrative.
4. The “*Nachsatz*” is introduced by a final conjunction, which is always sentence initial and asyndetic.

5. The “Nachsatz” of conjunctive final constructions is always occupied by the *yiqtol* verbal form, never *qatal*, *weqatal* or *wayyiqtol*, as the latter forms are not expected to be following a sub-ordinating conjunction.
6. I also hypothesize that the two categories of final constructions, i.e., conjunctive and conjunctionless final constructions, are not merely variant syntactic constructions expressing the same meaning. They cover different syntactic ranges, e.g., the one group is used for the 1<sup>st</sup> person, and the other is used for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

## 2.4 DELIMITATION AND IDENTIFICATION OF CORPUS

This study will confine itself to an analysis of final constructions in Genesis to 2 Kings. This demarcation however, is only applicable to the conjunctionless final constructions. The conjunctive final constructions, which occur less frequently, and are overtly marked by a conjunction as final will, with the exception of poetic texts, be treated in their entirety. A restriction of this group to Genesis to 2 Kings will severely reduce the number of samples to be investigated, and could have implications for the validity of the conclusions. This investigation will consider the semantic notion “result” only insofar as it is a function of final constructions, i.e., intended result. Real result constructions, also known as consecutive clauses, will not form part of the investigation.<sup>13</sup>

I will not include the cases of the preposition *ל* followed by the infinitive<sup>14</sup> to express final relations. This exclusion is deemed necessary as the inclusion of this group, which are very common in Biblical Hebrew, will render the present study unduly cumbersome. It is also an attempt to separate purpose as a semantic and thus a functional notion, and purpose as a

<sup>13</sup>An example of such constructions is 1 Kings 21:13. In this text, a result is realized by means of a consecutive *wayyiqtol* sequence.

<sup>14</sup>For a treatment of these cases see Mitchell (1879). This study is, however, somewhat dated. I am not aware of recent literature in this regard.



syntactic category, i.e., realized by syntactically identifiable final constructions. This study will consequently focus on final constructions as a syntactic category, and such cases where they are treated as a semantic category, which are often the case in Biblical Hebrew grammars, will be excluded. Whether it is entirely possible to separate semantics and syntax in the discussion of final constructions, remains to be seen.<sup>15</sup>

This study will uphold the distinction between prose and poetry.<sup>16</sup> Only prose texts will be considered and poetic texts within the corpus will be disregarded. Poetic texts, which present their own peculiarities, are easier to consider once a theory based on prose text has been formulated.<sup>17</sup> One should, however, guard not to apply indiscriminately the insights gained from a study of prose texts to poetry texts (Gross 1976, 10).

## 2.5 FURTHER PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE STUDY OF FINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

I have alluded to some of these problems earlier, but because they are vital for this study and affect crucial issues, they need to be considered in more detail.

As early as the turn of this century, Mitchell (1879), having selected final constructions as his field of study, observed that final constructions are a greatly neglected field of research in the

<sup>15</sup>Den Exter Blokland discounts such a possibility. He asserts that "Only an approach that integrates syntax, semantics, and pragmatics can make any claim to comprehensiveness, and that an approach from one point of view in total isolation of the others is impossible ... "(1996, 4). He further claims that "Syntax and semantics both serve a goal of communication, they can both be seen as sub-ordinate to pragmatics, since the latter reflects the nature of communication as social phenomenon. In the same vein syntax can be seen as sub-ordinate to semantics, since the former is involved in the technique of conveying meaning" (1996, 4).

<sup>16</sup>See De Regt, who states: "Since prose and poetry are separate idioms in Classical Hebrew, in a grammatical inquiry they have to be treated separately" (1988, 4).

<sup>17</sup>For a discussion of the benefits of prose over poetry texts and vice versa in syntactic research, compare Michel (1960) and Gross (1976). These studies contain an interesting contrast. Michel uses data from the Psalms, and therefore poetry for setting up his theories concerning the Biblical Hebrew conjugations. In his introduction, Michel defends his choice of poetry over prose texts. He contends that the typical word order, which is important in prose, in most cases has very little relevance in poetry. The meaning of the verbal forms derived from prose texts, accounts for difficulties when applied to poetic texts. A far more serious limitation of prose texts, however, is that they present an almost monotonous sequence of past events, which severely restrict their usefulness in a study on tenses. The Psalms, Michel argues, are much more suitable for a study concerning tenses, as situations in the past, present and future are described by the events depicted in the Psalms. Gross uses prose texts as his point of departure. He considers the major shortcoming and danger of Michel's work therein, that he attempted to define a language system on the basis of a theory derived exclusively from poetic texts. Such a procedure, Gross contends, is putting the cart before the horse. He consequently suggests "Es empfiehlt sich also, mit dem an der Prosa gewonnenen syntaktischen Wissen an poetische Texte heranzutreten, ohne allerdings dieses unkontrolliert in die poetischen Texte einzutragen" (1976, 10).



study of Hebrew grammar. He claims, “I need not suggest that I have received little aid from other investigators, as it is well known that the subject which I have chosen has thus far been lamentably neglected” (1879, 2). As I have mentioned earlier, Mitchell’s study, however, focuses on the cases with  $\text{ל}$  infinitive, which will be excluded in this research.

Almost a 100 years later, Niccacci (1990, 125-126) confirms that this is still the case. From the outset I would like to advance a possible reason for this state of affairs, which I will return to in more detail later (see sections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2). The syntactic description of final constructions is the subject of two areas on which there is little general agreement, and which also received scant attention from Biblical Hebrew scholars. I am referring, firstly, to the enigma of co-ordination and sub-ordination in Biblical Hebrew.<sup>18</sup> The particular problem is that conjunction *we* can be used both as a co-ordinating as well as a sub-ordinating conjunction. This fact becomes a problem in conjunctionless final constructions, which are joined to their matrix by *we*.

The second problem concerns the issues of mood and modality, areas that also need special attention in research on Biblical Hebrew. Because final constructions deal with the attitude of the speaker towards an action, the question of mood and modality in Biblical Hebrew becomes important. Both areas impinge directly on final constructions, and I will subsequently discuss both these aspects in more detail.

### **2.5.1 The Problem of Sub-ordination and Co-ordination in Biblical Hebrew**

It is not my intention to exhaust this topic, nor do I profess to propose a solution to this problem. However, a few observations of relevance to this study need to be made. A comment by Gross (1996, 118), captures the consensus that prevails among Biblical Hebrew scholars regarding the problem of co- and sub-ordination, “W. Richter hat ausführlich beschrieben, wie



schwierig es ist, im Hebräischen funktionierende Kriterien für Subordination oder Koordination von Konjunktionalsätzen zu benennen und anzuwenden ... ”

### 2.5.1.1 Waltke and O'Connor

Waltke and O'Connor define co-ordination as the grammatical association of two or more clauses, and sub-ordination as the grammatical control of one clause by another (1990, 633). In sub-ordination, the sub-ordinated clause is thus grammatically dependent on the main clause, whereas in co-ordination both clauses are grammatically independent and have the same syntactic status. Co-ordination in Hebrew, Waltke and O'Connor note, is dominated by a single conjunction *we*.<sup>19</sup> The problem is that sometimes the same conjunction *we* can be used in sub-ordinated sentences as well.<sup>20</sup> They further point out that “Unlike many languages, Hebrew does not use a different word order for main and sub-ordinate clauses; the general rule for verb-subject-object obtains in both groups, with many exceptions” (1990, 635).

### 2.5.1.2 Joüon-Muraoka

Joüon-Muraoka shows that *waw*, preceding the finite verb forms, may have a variety of semantic values. Comparing Hebrew with Arabic, they point out that the latter has a definite means to distinguish between the *waw* of succession, - here Arabic uses *fa* (sometimes *wa*) with the indicative ... and the final/consecutive *waw* – in this case Arabic uses *fa* with the subjunctive. Biblical Hebrew, he argues, has only *waw* to express both forms (1991, 380-

<sup>18</sup>See, for example, Niccacci (1990, 125) who asserts that “It is true that inter-clausal relationships have not been studied to any depth in grammars and this applies to both hypotaxis, and in particular parataxis.”

<sup>19</sup>The problem is not confined only to the *we*. Compare Richter's discussion on the difficulty of establishing criteria for distinguishing between sub-ordination and co-ordination in conjunctive sentences (1978, 190). Richter notes “Die Konj. fügen sich derart mit einem Satz, daß mindestens zwei Sätze miteinander verbunden werden; sie bilden eine Satzfügung. Die Sätze sind selbständig, die Relation ist gleichwertig oder ein Satz ist unselbständig, die Fügung verbindet einen übergeordneten und einen abhängigen Satz” (1978, 193). See also Gross (1996, 118).

<sup>20</sup>Niccacci comments “If we consider *waw* for example, it is clearly ‘neutral’ in the sense that it tells us nothing about the syntactic character of the connection it creates, whether it is co-ordinating (parataxis) or subordinating (hypotaxis)” (1990, 125). He also refers to the difficulty of formulating valid morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria for isolating hypotaxis and parataxis.

381). The latter observation is particularly important as the mentioned verbal forms occur in final constructions.

The above problem becomes especially acute when the examples Joüon-Muraoka present are considered. I have already highlighted the essence and the shortcomings of their argument in section 2.2.2 and will not repeat it here. I mention only those aspects vital to the present discussion, viz., Joüon-Muraoka's distinction between indirect and direct volitives is not very helpful as, in the final analysis, it does not assist to establish syntactic criteria that will indicate whether *waw* is co-ordinate or sub-ordinate. It follows from Joüon-Muraoka's criteria, or rather lack thereof, that it depends entirely on the exegete to decide when a volitive is direct or indirect.

### 2.5.1.3 Kuhr

Kuhr's somewhat dated but nevertheless very important study, "Die Ausdrucksmittel der konjunktionslosen Hypotaxe in der ältesten hebräischen Prosa", provides some helpful suggestions in the discussion of co- and sub-ordination in Biblical Hebrew. Perhaps most important is the following observation,

... wo eine klare Erkenntnis des syntaktischen Zusammenhangs durch das Fehlen eines besonderen Verbindungsworts erheblich erschwert wird, eine systematische Herausarbeitung und Untersuchung aller in Betracht kommenden sonstigen sprachlichen Mittel - Wortstellung, Tempus - und Modusformen usw. besonders dringend vonnöten ist (1928, 3).

Kuhr illustrates that the frequent occurrence of *waw* does not prove that Hebrew is "primitive" or that it does not have the means to express certain functions, but that there are other means, previously overlooked by grammarians, available to the Hebrew writer. He also realized that instead of espousing the vague term "context" to define nuances not readily



recognizable, there are definite syntactic features to look at in the context.<sup>21</sup> Among these are the verbal forms used, word order, syndesis/asyndesis, etc., by which the exegete can be guided. It is also clear, in the case of final constructions, that the verbal form that occupies the main sentence could be of significance in describing the form.

Kuhr claims that “Satzstellung” is the most common form of hypotaxes. Hebrew has two main ways of sub-ordinating clauses. Firstly, by “Eingliederung” (imbedding) whereby the sub-ordinate sentence is incorporated into the main sentence or, secondly, by “Angliederung” whereby the sub-ordinate clause either precedes or follows the main clause (1929, 11). Hebrew final constructions are fashioned on the principle of “Angliederung”. In the majority of cases the final clause follows the main clause.

Kuhr’s study confirms the “Bildungsmuster” or pattern for conjunctionless final constructions in Hebrew, i.e., matrix: *we* “Nachsatz”. Kuhr rightly recognizes the sentence order for final constructions, but no doubt, under the influence of Wundts, “Völkerpsychologie,” tries to explain this phenomenon psychologically:

Die Nachstellung des angegliederten Nebensatzes dient in unserem Falle zur Bezeichnung des konjunktionlosen Absichtssatzes, indem, wie bei Finalsätzen überhaupt, die nachfolgende Satzstellung durch die Richtung des Denkens von der Voraussetzung zu der beabsichtigten Folge veranlaßt ist, ... indem die Haupthandlung als das Wichtigste zuerst ins Bewußtsein tritt und dann erst die begleitenden Nebenumstände folgen (1929, 11).

His insistence on following such criteria as “natürliche Denkrichtung” somewhat mars his discussion of final constructions, as such considerations make it difficult to distinguish

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<sup>21</sup>The term “context” has become rather problematic in Biblical Hebrew grammars and scholarly publications. The reader is often referred to the “context” for a supposed closer nuance of a particular construction. Problematic, however, is the fact that the reader is never certain what the contextual indicators are that support the writers’ arguments. “Context”, like the term “emphasis” earlier, is conveniently being used where the writers cannot suggest definite syntactic and semantic arguments in support of their position. Compare also Niccacci (1990, paragraph 159). See Muraoka (1985, xi) for examples of the indiscriminate use of the term “emphasis.” Compare also van der Merwe’s (1990, 37-38) critique on Muraoka’s use of the term.



between purpose and result clauses as a semantic category on the one hand, and as a syntactic category on the other. It is thus not surprising that many of his examples are temporally, logically or semantically, but not syntactically final.<sup>22</sup>

#### 2.5.1.4 Niccacci

Niccacci recently made the somewhat radical statement, that co-ordination or sub-ordination is not affected by *waw* in any way. He claims that the function of co- or sub-ordination is not dependant on the *waw*, but on the position of the verb in the sentence. Co-ordination is the sequencing of verb forms of the same syntactic status, while sub-ordination is the sequencing of verb forms of different syntactic status (1994, 127-128).<sup>23</sup> Niccacci defines syntactic status in textlinguistic terms, i.e., two sentences are co-ordinated if both belong to the same textlinguistic level. Niccacci distinguishes only two levels, viz. mainline and background information. It is implied that if one verb belongs to mainline and the other to background information, the latter is sub-ordinate to the former. Unfortunately, Niccacci does not adequately define the categories he uses, such as syntactic level, syntactic status, mainline, background, etc. Without a clear definition of what he means by these terms, his claims therefore cannot be tested.

#### 2.5.1.5 Conclusions

All of the works discussed highlight the peculiar problem of Biblical Hebrew, i.e., the most used conjunction, *waw*, can express both sub-ordination and co-ordination. Kuhr attempts to take the argument further by urging the exegete to consider the context to distinguish whether *waw* is co- or sub-ordinating. He identifies such contextual markers as word-order, modal forms, and verbal forms, which can be used as guides to distinguish between the various contexts.

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<sup>22</sup>See Kuhr (1929, 45ff).

<sup>23</sup>I have tried to adapt and apply this rule for the present study by asserting that sub-ordination can only take place between two different verbal forms (at least in the case of conjunctionless final constructions). The consequence of this theory is that



Niccacci made some novel claims regarding co- and sub-ordination in Biblical Hebrew. Since most textlinguistic descriptions of Biblical Hebrew still need to be further scrutinized as far as their notional categories are concerned, it is difficult to judge Niccacci's views on co- and sub-ordination at this stage. Furthermore, his claims can only be understood in the light of his theory regarding the Hebrew verbal system, which will be discussed in Chapter 3.

### **2.5.2 The Problem of Mood and Modality in Biblical Hebrew**

Modality is defined as “The manner in which the meaning of a clause is qualified so as to reflect the speaker's judgement of the likelihood of the proposition it expresses being true” (Quirk et al. 1985, 219). For this reason, modals express that which is probable or possible, but not yet factual. It follows then that commands, wishes, requests, statements of intent, like purpose clauses, are expressed by modal forms. Modals have also been defined as expressing a variety of moods or attitudes towards a possible state or action. In the next section, I will attempt to answer the following questions: a) What, if any, is the difference between mood and modality? b) How are these notions expressed in Biblical Hebrew? c) How does it relate to our study of final constructions? I will make a few brief comments with regard to general linguistics (Palmer 1986), and then proceed to discuss the problem in relation to Biblical Hebrew.

#### **2.5.2.1 Palmer**

According to Palmer (1986), modality is a grammatical category similar to aspect, tense, number and gender. Modality can be expressed by a system of modal verbs as is the case in English. Other markers of modality include particles, of which the German language is a good example, and mood, of which Latin serves as an archetype (1986, 33). Mood is a morphosyntactic category in many languages, and is consequently expressed in the morphology of the verb. This also applies to Biblical Hebrew.

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two juxtaposed imperatives cannot realize a final relation to one another, neither can two consecutive, or a chain of cohortatives for that matter. More about this claim in Chapter 5 in my discussion of conjunctionless final constructions.



The semantic function of mood is to express the opinion or the attitude of the speaker (1986, 2). Palmer distinguishes between epistemic modality, which is concerned with matters of believe or knowledge, and deontic modality, which involves the necessity or possibility of acts (1986, 18). Both epistemic and deontic modality share the following common features: subjectivity, i.e., the involvement of the speaker, and non factuality (1986, 96).

#### **2.5.2.2 Ljungberg**

Ljungberg (1995) discusses the notions of tense, aspect and modality in some theories of the Biblical Hebrew verbal system. I will focus on his treatment of modality. In this respect he discusses the work of Beat Zuber, who proposes that the Biblical Hebrew verbal system be viewed as a modal system. Ljungberg points out that although the idea is quite novel, it is not entirely so. Much earlier, Driver suggested “... the tenses in Hebrew ... might almost more fitly be called moods” (cited in Ljungberg, 1995, 86). According to Ljungberg, Zuber presents the Hebrew verbal system as a fundamental opposition between the indicative and the modal/future (1995, 86).

Ljungberg draws attention to the following statements made by Zuber. Zuber firstly claims that the suffix form and the *wa*-prefix form is identical in meaning. The choice between the two is “determined on stylistic grounds as they are interchangeable” (cited in Ljungberg, 1995, 86). These forms, according to Zuber, make indicative statements. Likewise, Zuber maintains, the choice between the prefix form and the *waw* + suffix conjugation is also made on stylistic grounds, the meaning being identical (1995, 86). These forms express modal statements. However, Ljungberg does not express his standpoint with regard to these somewhat controversial and, in my opinion, downright questionable claims.

Ljungberg, following Palmer, further defines modality as meaning categorization, and mood as morphological marking. Ljungberg presents a variety of theories and quotes many authors



on the subject of modality. Unfortunately, he presents his arguments rather haphazardly, as if he is just a disinterested and neutral observer. Hence, the reader is often left confused with regard to his particular opinion and the arguments he presents.

### 2.5.2.3 Talstra

In his article, “Tense, Mood, Aspect and Clause connections in Biblical Hebrew” Talstra (1997) stipulates three main objectives which he wishes to address. Firstly, he attempts to make a distinction between an approach based on clause-level grammar as opposed to one based on text-level grammar. Secondly, he sets out to perform an analysis of the verbal forms of an entire text in terms of both text-grammatical and clause-grammatical categories. Thirdly, he takes on the task of proposing a clear ordering of grammatical observations from categories of text-grammar to those of clause-grammar and subsequently to categories of a more functional or pragmatic type (1997, 81).

What is of singular significance to this study, is the conclusions Talstra draws for the understanding of mood in Biblical Hebrew. He points out that, despite the fact that mood is marked by a unique set of universally accepted morphosyntactic features, the question that needs to be asked is to what extent mood is marked by text-syntactic phenomena.<sup>24</sup> Aspects such as mood cannot, and should not, Talstra argues, be established on the basis of clause-level grammatical description, i.e., verbal forms, alone. We have observed that there are many modal markers involved in identifying final sentences. These are, amongst others, the verbal forms imperative, cohortative and jussive which express mood in Hebrew. In conjunctive constructions modality is indicated by the conjunction. Yet other markers play an important role in final constructions as I will illustrate in Chapters 4 and 5. These include, a change of

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<sup>24</sup>Palmer (1986, 2) alluded to a similar possibility when he asserted, “But modality ... does not relate semantically to the verb alone or primarily, but to the whole sentence.”



subject between matrix and “Nachsatz”, a change in verbal form between the matrix and the “Nachsatz”, etc.

#### 2.5.2.4 Joüon-Muraoka

Joüon-Muraoka note that the question of tenses and mood have been greatly neglected by ancient grammarians (1991, 353). The same cannot be said currently with regard to tenses, with the proliferation of articles in the field, and particularly the interest that the aspect theory generated in the discussion of the subject.<sup>25</sup> The problem with mood, however, has not changed at all. Except for a few casual observations, a systematic study of the phenomenon of mood in Biblical Hebrew has yet to be undertaken.<sup>26</sup>

#### 2.5.2.5 Qimron

Mood is expressed in Biblical Hebrew by the various modal forms. Qimron observes that “the distinction between the jussive moods in Biblical Hebrew is obscured in no small degree by the fact that in most cases the morphological differences between the two moods have disappeared (1987, 151).<sup>27</sup> He further claims that markers for modality in Hebrew are the special form of the imperfect (jussive and cohortative) and the use of the particles **לֹא** and **כִּי** (1987, 151). He considers the optative usage in Hebrew as consisting of two groups: Firstly, those forms expressing desire, command, wish, negative wish, etc. Secondly, and of greater and direct relevance to this study, he considers sentences connected by *waw* to a preceding

<sup>25</sup>Of the studies that have elicited much interest and debate among Hebrew scholars are that by the Rundgren (1961), Sekine (1962) and Kustar (1972). The work by Denz (1971), is equally important in my opinion, but has unfortunately received scant attention in English speaking scholarship. Among the more recent publications that give attention to the problem of aspect is that of DeCaen (1995), and Goldfjan (1998, 34-88). Compare also Comrie (1976 and 1985), for a general discussion of aspect and tense. Related studies on the Biblical Hebrew verbal system includes that of S.R. Driver (1892), G.R. Driver (1936), Meyer (1960), and Hughes (1970).

<sup>26</sup>It appears that this need in Biblical Hebrew is currently being addressed. Eep Talstra (personal communication) is currently co-promoter of a doctoral thesis by a Swedish candidate B. K. Ljungberg, entitled “Tense, Mood, Aspect in Biblical Hebrew.”

<sup>27</sup>See also Schneider who comments “In Verlauf der Sprachenentwicklung sind selbständige Modus-Formen weitgehend verlorengegangen. Ihre Funktionen werden im Biblischen Hebräisch durch andere syntaktische Mittel übernommen” (1978, 92).



sentence “denoting a command, etc. - or coming after a protasis, an interrogative, etc.” as subordinated to the preceding clauses and denoting purpose (1987, 151).<sup>28</sup>

#### 2.5.2.6 Revell

Revell claims that the Hebrew verbal system consists of a set of indicative forms, representing two categories qtl and yqtl, and a set of modal forms represented by the cohortative - 1<sup>st</sup> person, the imperative 2<sup>nd</sup> person and the jussive 3<sup>rd</sup> person. He points out that for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person modals, distinct forms are still recognizable. 1<sup>st</sup> Person modal forms show the affix ׀ which is lacking in the indicative. Some 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms are short in contrast to the long indicative forms. He eventually claims that “Distinct modal imperfect forms occur only where the subject is first person, 2ms., or 3m./f.s. Any original difference between the modal and the indicative form of the imperfect has been lost where the subject is 2f.s., 2.pl, or 3 pl.” (1989, 13).

#### 2.5.2.7 Wolfgang Schneider

Wolfgang Schneider in his syntax, “Grammatik des Biblischen Hebräisch”, discusses moods under the heading, “Kennzeichnung der Aussage-Absicht (Modus)” and makes the following claims regarding moods in Biblical Hebrew:

1. Außer dem Imperativ - und einigen restlichen Jussiv-Formen - hat das Hebräische keine eigenen Verbformen (Modi), um die Aussage-Absicht zu kennzeichnen.
2. Wenn Modalitäten überhaupt durch einige syntaktisches Zeichen ausgedrückt werden sollen, stehen Partikeln zu Verfügung.
3. Darüber hinaus wird die Aufmerksamkeit des Hörers gelenkt durch Hinweise, die in der Bedeutungs-Ebene des Textes liegen - Hierher gehören auch Verben modalen Bedeutung wie z.B. יכל “können” und relative Verben
4. Syntaktische Zeichen für die modalen Kategorien: “wirklich/unwirklich/möglich” (Realis/Irrealis/Potentialis)<sup>29</sup> kennt die hebräische Sprache nicht, auch keinen “Konjunktiv” als syntaktisches Zeichen der inneren Abhängigkeit” (1978, 228).

<sup>28</sup>A brief reference to mood like this one by Qimron, scattered over a variety of articles, is typical of the way the problem of mood and modality has been treated by Biblical Hebrew scholars to date.

<sup>29</sup>Talstra (1982, 32) attempts to show that these modal categories can be realized in Biblical Hebrew by certain sentence types together with certain conjunctions, word order, and verbal sequences, etc. It must be noted that, although some of his



Schneider, like Qimron, considers the few morphologically distinguishable modal forms, together with certain particles, as some of the few markers of modality in Hebrew. To this list he also adds some verbs with modal nuances, and thus combines semantic with syntactic features as mood markers. Schneider's list should include something which he alludes to on two occasions (1978, 228 and 230) but strangely omits from his lists of "Aussage-Absicht" markers. This is Schneider's statement that "In vielen Fällen ist die Aussage-Absicht eines Textes oder Satzes durch den sprachlichen und den situativen Kontext hinreichend deutlich" (1978, 230). Context, according to Schneider, is also a valuable marker for modality in Biblical Hebrew. Unfortunately, Schneider does not adequately identify the contextual indicators that can serve as mood markers.

#### **2.5.2.8 Conclusions on Mood and Modality**

Talstra has, in my opinion, correctly argued that Schneider's categories should be expanded. He questions Schneider's assertion that the context (see above) of conjunctionless verbal forms is a sufficient explanation for determining the modal use of such forms, without describing the markers in the context that would indicate such a use. Talstra then argues that word order and clause order are rather sufficient markers of mood - and rightly should be added to Schneider's list. He concludes by remarking "It seems to me that by means of a detailed formal inventory of sentence types, conjunctions and the sequences of discursive tense forms, one might be able to define several other modal functions of *yqtl* in discursive texts" (1982, 32).

Talstra seems to be supported in this contention by Revell, who proposes the theory that *yqtl* forms appear to have modal or indicative value depending on their position in the clause. He

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examples are not entirely convincing, (e.g. his contention that the sequence *ipf.c.- perf.c* in Exodus 18:26, 40:31 indicates a finalis) the idea certainly warrants further investigation.



claims that whenever an imperfect is clause initial it is modal<sup>30</sup> and when it occurs in the clause, it is indicative.<sup>31</sup> Though Revell's idea is innovative, it is far too general and can be refuted by various examples, in which *yqtl* appears to be modal in a non-sentence initial position.<sup>32</sup> Revell also does not indicate whether his claim holds true for both narrative and discursive text. His contention that *weyiqtol* is modal in sentence initial position may find support in the findings of this study of final constructions. It should be pointed out, however, that one has to distinguish between the short and the long forms of the prefix conjugations in such cases. It is my contention, for which I will provide support later, that in conjunctionless final constructions, the *yiqtol* form is always syndetic and always shortform (with very few exceptions).<sup>33</sup>

Talstra also claims that *yqtl* has a modal function, even when not morphologically marked, and tries to demonstrate such a function for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person *yqtl* form.<sup>34</sup> His criteria are far more stringent than those suggested by Revell. Firstly, he distinguishes such a function for *yqtl* in discursive text and then in narrative text. Secondly, he makes his claim only for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person form and adds such criteria as word order, sentence order, verbal sequence, conjunctions, etc. (1982, 32).

<sup>30</sup>Schneider (1978, 222) unwittingly came very close to admitting such a possibility himself. Commenting on two *yiqtol* forms in Genesis 18:2 he claims "Die Aussage-Absicht der unbezeichneten Imperfect-Formen ... ist durch den sprachlichen und situativen Kontext hinreichend gesichert. Nur in der deutschen Übersetzung brauchen wir eine zusätzliche Charakterisierung durch modale Ausdrücke ("dürfen/mögen")." Revell's solution will solve Schneider's concern by showing that the problem is not that the German translation needs a "zusätzliche Charakterisierung", but that these forms are modal because of its position in the sentence. Schneider's linguistic instinct caused him to translate them correctly as modal in German, without however motivating his decision syntactically. He also notices correctly, that "Die Aussage -Absicht der unbezeichneten Imperfect- Formen ... ist durch den sprachlichen und situativen Kontext hinreichend gesichert." - without describing those linguistic and contextual markers that would indicate the modal nuances of the Imperfect verbalforms. A definite contextual marker then, according to Revell, is the sentence initial position of the imperfects which is a further marker for "Aussage-Absicht." Schneider, unfortunately, does not mention this in his list.

<sup>31</sup>Compare Niccacci who formulates a similar proposal "A YIQTOL which comes first in the sentence is always jussive whereas indicative YIQTOL always comes in second position" (1990, 94).

<sup>32</sup>See Genesis 43:14, Exodus 10:24.

<sup>33</sup>Gross (personal communication) also questions Revell's contention that *yiqtol* in non-sentence initial position is indicative. Gross's own position is that *yiqtol* (long form) is modal and tends to gravitate towards sentence final position.

<sup>34</sup>See also Niccacci (1987, 7-19).



### 2.5.2.9 Implications for the Study of Final Constructions

Some of the above claims have relevance for conjunctionless final constructions in particular. In many constructions, the final sentence is introduced by *weyiqtol*. In cases where long and short forms can be distinguished, the short form of the prefix conjugation is used. However, when the 1<sup>st</sup> person is involved, the cohortative/long form occurs most frequently. These forms, or at least their use in final sentences are all modal, according to Revell's theory, irrespective whether they are morphologically marked (i.e., short as opposed to long forms in 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person,<sup>35</sup> and elongated in 1<sup>st</sup> person) as modal forms. With regard to Talstra's claim, conjunctionless final constructions always have a verbal form which expresses "Aufforderung" in its main clause. According to Richter (1980, 190) and Gross (1996, 7), an immediately preceding conjunction marks a verb as modal.<sup>36</sup> In conjunctive final constructions the conjunction therefore serves as the marker for modality.

## 2.6 CONCLUSIONS

2.6.1 The above survey suggests that Hebrew grammars identify various constructions which realize a final relation.

2.6.2 The grammatical description of final constructions is deficient, since most grammars treat final clauses without due recognition of the fact that the final clause is a member of a two element syntactic construction.

2.6.3 It is my contention that a closer syntactic description could be obtained and finer

<sup>35</sup>The opposition short/long form for the jussiv can only be distinguished in a small variety of verbal forms.

<sup>36</sup>Richter asserts that all verb forms following conjunctions are modal. Compare also Gross who asserts that sentences with conjunctions "durch die Konjunktion semantisch stärker determiniert und mehrheitlich als syntaktisch abhängig erwiesen sind" (1996, 117). Richter earlier expressed a similar opinion. With respect to conjunctions, he writes: "Bereits auf der ersten Ebene kann man eine Klassifizierung der Konj erreichen: Eine Gruppe leitet Wörter/Wortgruppen oder Sätze ein, eine weitere nur Sätze. Ihr Unterschied liegt in der Art der verbundenen Sätze; bei ersterer sind die Sätze wie die Wörter/Wortgruppen gleichwertig, bei letzterer nicht, vielmehr ist der durch Konj eingeleitete Satz abhängig, der andere dann übergeordnet" (1980, 190).

nuances identified by careful investigation of the matrix, and to observe what implications changes in the matrix, i.e., verbal forms, for example, have for the function of the final sentence.

2.6.4 I deem it necessary in an investigation like this one, to separate prose from poetry. Most of the “strange” examples the grammars illustrate occur in poetic texts. It can be argued that once a theory is established for prose text, it can then be tested on poetic texts.

2.6.5 A further useful criterion is to systematically distinguish between narrative texts and discourse texts.<sup>37</sup> Recent discourse studies have shown that the verbal forms and verbal sequences in direct speech differ from those in narrative. Final constructions in Biblical Hebrew appear largely in direct speech.<sup>38</sup>

2.6.6 The problem of co- and sub-ordination, and that of mood and modality are vital considerations in a grammatical description of final constructions. Firstly, with regard to co- and sub-ordination one has to define markers to indicate when *waw* is co-ordinated and when it is sub-ordinated. This is important as the outcome will determine whether the verbal form which follows are dependent (sub-ordinated) or independent (co-ordinated). Secondly, in considering mood and modality, one needs to know which verbal forms and syntactic constructions have a modal function, as final clauses express what is possible or probable, and are therefore modal. It is noticeable that Biblical Hebrew final clauses are always translated into English with resort to one of the English modals, “may, might,

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<sup>37</sup>In a recent discussion on the previous research on the Hebrew word order and sentence order, Gross concludes that, for a meaningful analyses of these phenomena “Die unterschiedlichen Textsorten müssen berücksichtigt werden” (1996, 7). Gross further identifies the following ‘Textsorten’, “Prosa-Handlungsdarstellung, wörtliche Rede, Gesetztext, poetische Texte” (1996, 7, footnote 30).

<sup>38</sup>I will return to this issue in Chapter 3.



can, could” etc.

Most of the shortcomings in the description of final constructions in traditional grammars as evident in the overview, emanate from the basic linguistic model that forms the foundation of such grammars. In the following chapter, I will briefly expose some of the linguistic presuppositions of traditional grammars, and their inherent limitations with respect to the study of final constructions. I will also explore a relatively recent development, generally referred to as a textlinguistic approach to the study of language, in order to determine whether insights from studies conducted in terms of this paradigm can be used to describe final constructions more adequately.

Talstra's (1997) recent proposal for text-level grammatical analysis as opposed to the traditional clause-level grammatical description, is important in this respect, as it:

- (a) highlights the limitations for the current study inherent in traditional clause-level grammatical analysis, as was evident from the historical overview in this chapter and,
- (b) presents an alternative by explicating the prospects which a text-grammatical approach could hold for a syntactic description of final constructions.

Since my initial hypothesis formulated in 2.3 is based on the clause-level grammatical analysis of traditional grammars investigated in this chapter, it needs to be reconsidered in the light of the insights gained from the textlinguistic approaches explored in Chapter 3.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE STUDY OF FINAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN RELATION TO RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN TEXTLINGUISTICS

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, it is noted that one of the main difficulties in the description of final constructions in traditional grammars is the treatment of such constructions without consideration of the matrix sentence. This fact is hard to fathom, given that final constructions are two-element constructions, consisting of a matrix and a sub-clause (the final clause). Grammars simply note sentences that stand in a final relation to another construction, without describing the matrix or governing construction. They also do not attempt to determine whether the matrix has any significance for the form and function of the final clause. Another glaring shortcoming is the failure to describe how final constructions relate to their immediate contexts, i.e., how they are introduced and how they are continued? Simply put, what are the verbal forms that precede and follow final constructions? In this regard, the observation by Van der Merwe with respect to the new consciousness among modern linguists is very significant. He claims that there is “a strong awareness of a growing number of observations about language that *cannot be explained without recourse to contextual concepts*” (Emphasis mine)(1997, 4).

A possible reason for the situation described above is the particular language paradigm to which the traditional grammars adhere. Most of these grammars simply reflect the linguistics of their day. The basic assumption of traditional grammars is that the sentence is the highest unit of grammatical description. As a result, individual sentences were often described without due consideration to their contexts. Schiffrin (1994, 20) argues that “differences in



paradigm also influence definitions of discourse: a definition derived from the formalist paradigm views language as ‘sentences’... a definition derived from a functionalist paradigm regards discourse as ‘language use’.”

The introduction of textlinguistics, or discourse linguistics<sup>1</sup> as it is sometimes also called, to the study of Biblical Hebrew during the last 20 years, possibly provides the tools and methodology and presents an interesting new linguistic alternative whereby the above mentioned shortcomings can be addressed. Although still in its infancy, textlinguistics has brought novel insights into the description of old problems in Biblical Hebrew, and looks set to further stimulate the discussion regarding Biblical Hebrew grammar over the next years. This is quite ironic, since textlinguistics was introduced into Biblical Hebrew studies almost by accident, one is tempted to say.<sup>2</sup> Wolfgang Schneider, generally credited for introducing textlinguistics to Biblical Hebrew, had no intention of introducing a new linguistic model and, in the process, stimulate discussion by providing a new impetus to the study of Biblical Hebrew. His aim, when publishing his grammar, “Grammatik des Biblischen Hebräischen Sprache,” in 1974, was simply to present a “Lehrbuch” to his students of Biblical Hebrew. It was only with the publication of two review articles by Eep Talstra in 1979 and 1982, respectively, that the academic world<sup>3</sup> began to take note of the merit and significance of Schneider’s work.

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<sup>1</sup>Because the approach is still in its infancy, a variety of terms are used by scholars. Among them are textlinguistics, discourse linguistics, narrative syntax, text grammar, discourse, discourse grammar, discourse analysis. These terms are used in a variety of ways, sometimes as synonymous terms, sometimes referring to different concepts. Schiffin asserts that “Although discourse analysis is an increasingly popular and important area of study - both on its own and for what it can tell us about language, society, culture and thought - it still remains a vast and somewhat vague subfield of linguistics.” See also van der Merwe’s (1997, 1-17), overview of the use of related terms describing discourse.

<sup>2</sup>This is certainly true with regard to the approach introduced by Schneider. Van der Merwe argues, however, that the stage was set, as it were, for the introduction of a new linguistic model for the study of Biblical Hebrew. Firstly, traditional sentence based grammars proved inadequate to deal with certain fundamental problems of Biblical Hebrew grammar, including such as aspects of the Biblical Hebrew verbal system and word order. Secondly, in the field of general linguistics, two important paradigm shifts occurred. The first is the shift from historical linguistics to structural linguistics. The second is the shift from the paradigm of theoretical grammar, to that of the language user (1997, 4). These factors, among others, paved the way for investigations of Biblical Hebrew constructions from a textlinguistic point of view.

<sup>3</sup>What Talstra succeeded in doing was to introduce Schneider’s linguistic method and to make it accessible to the English speaking academic community. His work was already known among German speaking scholars. See Gross (1976), for example.



In this chapter, I will address the relevance of textlinguistics for the study of Biblical Hebrew, by discussing the work of important contributors to this field. They are Wolfgang Schneider, Eep Talstra and Alviero Niccacci. These scholars might be regarded as constituting the European School.<sup>4</sup> I will also discuss the contribution of an American scholar, R.E. Longacre, whose work follows in the “tradition” set by Schneider. Though some<sup>5</sup> others have also applied the methods of textlinguistics, the work of the scholars under discussion has direct bearing on the study in question. Thereafter, I will present the methodological principles of this linguistic approach which will form the basis for my description of final constructions and in terms of which I will reconsider my initial hypothesis in section 2.3.

### 3.2 WHAT IS TEXTLINGUISTICS?

Most traditional grammars can be regarded as sentenced-based grammars. We describe these grammars in this way because they assume that “The sentence is the largest unit of grammatical description.”<sup>6</sup> Longacre succinctly captures the weaknesses and the shortcomings of such an approach when he states “For too long a time, linguistics has confined itself to the study of isolated sentences, either such sentences carefully selected from a corpus or, more often than not, artfully contrived so as to betray no need for further context” (1983, xv). Individual sentences, therefore, have been described as linguistic “islands” as if their contexts were unimportant. It is not difficult to recognize the seeds of such an approach in Bloomfield’s (Lyons 1991, 172) definition of a sentence as “an independent linguistic form, not included by virtue of any grammatical construction into a larger linguistic form.”

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<sup>4</sup>I group these scholars together as they all proceeded on the linguistic method of the German linguist Harald Weinrich, first applied to Biblical Hebrew by Wolfgang Schneider. Both Talstra and Niccacci followed Schneider in some significant way. This, however, does not imply that these are the only European scholars of Biblical Hebrew that used textlinguistic approaches.

<sup>5</sup>See for example Bodine (1992 and 1995), Endo (1993), and Den Exter Blokland (1996).

<sup>6</sup>Though Lyons is credited with this definition, it is in reality Lyon’s attempt at concisely restating Bloomfield’s definition of a sentence as “an independent linguistic form, not included by virtue of any grammatical construction into a larger linguistic form” (Lyons 1991, 172).



What then is textlinguistics? Niccacci, following Weinrich, describes textlinguistics as “a method used in linguistics to describe all the elements of a language including the functions these have in oral and written texts ... a grammar which does not accept units beyond the sentence can never even notice, let alone resolve, the most interesting problems of linguistics” (1990, 19). This definition is far too broad, and it seems to equate textlinguistics with the study of texts in general. Such an understanding of textlinguistics is exactly what Heinemann and Viehwieger (1991, 17) caution against when they assert “Die Textlinguistik kann nicht als Superwissenschaft verstanden werden, wohl auch nicht als Textwissenschaft.”

Talstra, drawing on Lyons, refers to the text as the “oberste Einheit der grammatischen Analyse” (1983, 1). He, therefore, simply shifts the boundary for the largest unit for grammatical description from the sentence to the text.<sup>7</sup> This immediately raises another concern. How does one define a text? The battle to define a sentence has been long and protracted,<sup>8</sup> and still remains without consensus. The struggle for the definition of a text, I predict, will not be less arduous. Van der Merwe already hinted of this “jostling for position” when he asserted that “Discourse linguistics may be said to be still in its infancy in that scholars do not agree at all on how texts should be described from a discourse perspective, or even on what a discourse is” (1994, 13). Whether such an agreement is attainable with the growth of the method which Van der Merwe seems to be confident of, is open to speculation. Van der Merwe, as we shall shortly see, shows that it is not just simply a matter of shifting boundaries from the sentence to the text as Talstra had done. The question that needs to be answered is “What is it that will be studied if the text is the largest unit of grammatical description?” Will sentences remain the main focus - with more consideration given to their contexts? Van der Merwe argues that such an approach does not present a significant step

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<sup>7</sup>Joosten appears to hold a similar view. He asserts that “Under the general label of ‘text linguistics’ (or ‘discourse analysis’), the focus of grammatical research on Biblical Hebrew has, during the last twenty years or so, moved from forms and clauses to the text as the ultimate frame of reference” (1997, 51).

<sup>8</sup>See Gross (1986), for example.



forward (1996, 6-9). Schiffrin (1994, 24) refers to discourse as language “above the sentence”, but notes that many contemporary structural approaches to discourse view discourse as consisting of units. She points out that in many of these approaches the sentence is the unit of which discourse is comprised, and cautions that “... several problems stem from the reliance of definitions and analyses on the smaller unit of ‘sentence’ ” (1994, 25).

A commonly used definition of a text among discourse linguists is that formulated by the German linguist Harald Weinrich, and subsequently adopted for Biblical Hebrew. According to Weinrich, “a text is a logical (intelligible and consistent), sequence of linguistic signs, placed between two significant breaks in communication.”<sup>9</sup> Niccacci, in particular, makes use of this definition in his earlier work. This presents us with another problem and specifically to the identification of the linguistic markers within a Biblical Hebrew text that would constitute “a significant break in communication.” One would then have to define the linguistic markers that would indicate the start of a new text, and define linguistic markers that would indicate the end of a text.

Niccacci (1995, 111) also defines textlinguistics as the “method of analyzing all the elements of a sentence in the framework of the text.” It can be seen from this definition that the focus of grammatical analysis, even in textlinguistics, still appears to be the sentence, but that the emphasis has shifted away from the sentence “an sich” to the sentence in relation to other sentences, constituting the broader text. Therefore, it can be argued that the text, and not the sentence, is the highest unit of linguistic description, and that the sentence can and should only be described and defined in relation to the text.

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<sup>9</sup>Quoted from Niccacci (1995). Translation by Watson.



Van der Merwe, in two recent articles,<sup>10</sup> attempts to define textlinguistics. He asserts, and correctly so I believe, that scholars have been inconsistent and ambiguous in their use of the term textlinguistics. Van der Merwe goes on to explain what he understands by the term narrative syntax. He seems to regard narrative syntax as a specific approach of the broader linguistic model, textlinguistics or discourse analysis.<sup>11</sup> Textlinguistics, according to Van der Merwe, is any linguistic model that considers texts as its object of research. Van der Merwe is careful to point out, however, that he does not only view textlinguistics as the simple shift from the sentence to the text as the largest unit of grammatical description. This would imply the study of text as an abstract unit similar to that of sentences. He summarizes his own position as follows: “As a study of the structures and formulae displayed in specific communication processes it involves both the conceptual and the social world of all the participants in - and outside of the text of the Old Testament. When you embark on this approach to Biblical Hebrew you cannot escape the fact that you are in the domain of the study of language *use*” (1996, 13). By referring to the notion of “language use”, he thus adopts a concept from general linguistics which was earlier propagated by Schiffrin (1990, 24).

Van der Merwe defines his understanding of narrative syntax as follows “I will regard narrative syntax as an approach to the study of Biblical Hebrew that investigates grammatical phenomena not merely within the scope of sentences, but in the scope of text units.” The strategy suggested by Van der Merwe distinguishes itself from the textlinguistic conventions discussed earlier - in that although the object of the study of both is the text, the former studies sentences within the larger text unit, and therefore uses the same methods and categories as sentence grammar. Van der Merwe, on the other hand, attempts to move away

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<sup>10</sup>“An overview of Hebrew narrative syntax” (1997, 1-17), and “A critical analysis of narrative syntactic approaches, with special attention to their relationship to discourse analysis” (1997, 133-156).

<sup>11</sup>Van der Merwe considers textlinguistics primarily a term coined and used in describing the approach of European linguists. The American counterpart of textlinguistic is discourse analysis (1997, 136).



from the slavish obsession with the sentence and, therefore, theoretical approaches, and attempts to concentrate on a method which focuses on language use. This shift, in Schifffrin's terms, is a transition from a more sentence-based structuralist paradigm to a functionalist paradigm (1994, 20).

Although van der Merwe's proposal presents a worthy attempt to clearly define a specific textlinguistic procedure, he still has to illustrate the applicability of what he has in mind to the description of Biblical Hebrew constructions.

### **3.3 IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTORS TO THE FIELD OF TEXTLINGUISTICS**

I will now consider some of the important contributors to the field of textlinguistics with regard to Biblical Hebrew. In my discussion of these individual contributors, I will specifically highlight those aspects of their work which are of significance to this study.

#### **3.3.1 Wolfgang Schneider**

Schneider is generally considered as the "father" of Biblical Hebrew textlinguistics.<sup>12</sup> As already noted, when Schneider published the first edition of his "Hebräische Grammatik" in 1974, his aim was not primarily to stimulate linguistic research. He was, nevertheless, able to introduce a new linguistic method to the study of Biblical Hebrew, by shifting the emphasis from the sentence to the text as being the highest unit of linguistic description.

Although Schneider only made a few brief references to the linguist Harald Weinrich in his grammar, his own work would be unthinkable without the theories of Weinrich, to whom he is greatly indebted. In fact, his entire linguistic method is the adoption of Weinrich's linguistic model for Biblical Hebrew. A discussion of Schneider, therefore, is impossible without reference to Weinrich and, as Talstra rightly notes, "most of the important issues for the

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theoretical framework of Schneider's grammar are found in Weinrich's work" (1978, 270). Accordingly, I will now provide a brief synopsis of the chief elements of Weinrich's linguistic method.

The essence of Weinrich's linguistic theory, presented in his "Tempus. Besprochene und erzählte Welt" is his differentiation between "Besprechung" and "Erzählung". Syntax, according to Weinrich, and specifically the verbal forms, act as signals in the text that produce a preliminary sorting of the world into that of 'speaker' and 'listener'. Weinrich claims that "Es handelt sich bei den Tempusformen um obstinat in der Zeichenkette des Textes eingefügte Morpheme, in denen der Sprecher dem Hörer ein Signal besonderer Art gibt. Das Signal bedeutet in dem einen Fall: »Dies ist ein besprechendes Textstück«, im anderen Fall: »Dies ist ein erzählendes Textstück«" (1977, 28). He further contends that the communication process divides the world into three main categories; that of speaker, listener, and 'everything else', i.e., a rest category. "Unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Kommunikation, wird die Welt grob eingeteilt in die Positionen Sprecher (»Sender«), Hörer, (»Empfänger«), und »alles übrige« (Restkategorie)" (1977, 29).

Not only did Weinrich distinguish between discourse and narrative in texts, he also noted, on the basis of a count of the distribution of verbal forms, that there are definite verbal forms for discourse, and different forms for narrative. These sets are not mutually exclusive, however, but as will be seen later for Biblical Hebrew, a particular form could have different functions depending on its use in either discourse or narrative texts.<sup>13</sup> Weinrich shows that the verbal forms that predominate in narrative are the primary verbal forms of this text type. Alternatively, those verbal forms that prevail in speech are the primary verbal forms in that text type. The primary verbal forms are used to express communication on the mainline of

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<sup>12</sup>Joosten claims that "The first published treatment of Biblical Hebrew grammar from a text-linguistic perspective would seem to be that of W. Schneider ..." (1997, 51).



the specific text type. Each text type also has less dominant or secondary verbal forms. These secondary verbal forms are used to express communication which is not on the mainline of the text. This differentiation leads to the linguistic opposition 'foreground' and 'background'. The verbal forms used in a text, therefore, are linguistic signs that guide and determine the mode of communication. In other words, by simply observing the verbal forms used, the reader can establish whether the text is discourse, or narrative, and also determine the linguistic level of the communication. Some verbal forms refer to the domain of speaker and listener (first and second person), other verbal forms direct to the acts outside the domain of speaker and listener (for which the third person is mainly used).

Applying this scheme to Biblical Hebrew, Schneider, on the basis of a similar counting of the distribution of verbal forms in different text types,<sup>14</sup> reached the following conclusion:

In Erzählungen überwiegt eindeutig das Imperfekt consecutivum (ic) mit ca. 75% aller Tempusformen. Dem entspricht ein Geringes Vorkommen des Imperfekt (I) und das Perfekt consecutivum (pc) von je 2%.

In Texten und Textteilen, die nicht erzählen (Z.B. Gesetze, Predigten, Prophetensprüche, Psalmen), einschließlich der Dialog-Partien aus den Erzählungen, überwiegt nicht ganz so eindeutig, aber doch deutlich das Imperfekt (I) mit ca. 50% aller Tempusformen. Dem entspricht ein geringes Vorkommen des Imperfekt consecutivum (ic) mit ca. 5 %.

Das Perfekt (p) dagegen ist in der Texten aller Gattungen ziemlich gleichmäßig vertreten, und zwar in der Erzählungen mit ca. 22%, in anderen Gattungen mit ca. 28%.

Das Perfekt consecutivum (pc) kommt überwiegend in solchen Texten vor, in denen das Imperfekt vorherrscht (ca. 20%)” (1978, 182).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup>For a different view see Endo (1993, 329) who claims that the distinction discourse/narrative does not play significant role in the functional differentiation of the verbal forms.

<sup>14</sup>Many scholars, following Schneider's lead have successfully applied the distinction narrative/discourse in their own research. One recent example is Verheij in his dissertation "Verbs and Numbers" (1990). Verheij notes regarding his own method "Narrative and discourse are examined separately in the present investigation primarily because these text types make different selections (quantitatively) from the verbal system (1990, 93).

<sup>15</sup>In a similar verb count on the distribution of verbal forms for 1 Kings 2 and Deuteronomy 7, Talstra confirms Schneider's findings "to a certain extent", based on data produced by a computer program used to establish clause relations within a text (1995, 273-274).



Schneider concludes from these data that the Imperfekt consecutivum, wayyiqtol, and the Imperfect, yiqtol are the principal tenses and are in opposition to one another. This means that wayyiqtol is the main narrative tense whereas yiqtol is the main discourse tense. Wayyiqtol verbal forms build the mainline in narrative text.<sup>16</sup> Consequently, qatal is a secondary tense in narrative text. In such texts qatal does not continue the main storyline, but pauses it and so introduces background information. Schneider, then, like Weinrich before him, distinguishes between foreground and background in the text relief. Wayyiqtol - W- X- Qatal corresponds to the opposition foreground/background in narratives, and yiqtol - Qatal/ W-qatal<sup>17</sup> correlates with the opposition foreground/background in discursive texts.

Before I proceed with Schneider, it should be noted at this point that Weinrich recognizes three basic oppositions in any verbal system:

1. "Sprechhaltung" - This refers to the mode of communication: narrative versus discourse, and informs about the orientation of the speaker/sender.
2. "Relief" - This relates to whether the communication presents foreground or background information.
3. "Perspektiv" - Backward versus zero. Indicates whether there are deviations from the 'mainline' of the narrative.

I have already shown that by applying this system to Biblical Hebrew implicates the verbal forms wayyiqtol and yiqtol as the main forms differentiating "Sprechhaltung". Wayyiqtol, referring to narrative and yiqtol, presents the main discourse tense. We have also seen that in narrative the opposition foreground/background is realized by wayyiqtol - W-X-Qatal. Similarly, in discourse it is Yiqtol - Qatal/W-qatal.

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<sup>16</sup>The matter is not quite so simple in discourse texts where a greater variety of verbal forms express the mainline of the text. We shall see later that the backbone of discourse text is weqatal and not yiqtol.

<sup>17</sup>This opposition follows logically from Schneider's verb count, but is not quite correct for discourse texts, as we shall shortly see.



Talstra (1996, 278) succinctly captures Schneider's position with regard to *qatal* and *yiqtol* in discourse text when he asserts "In Schneider's system the *qatal* forms have a past perspective in discursive texts - that is they refer to acts or facts coming into existence before the actual communication ... On the other hand W-*qatal* forms have a future perspective; i.e., they refer to acts or facts coming into existence after the actual communication (cf. W-*qatal* clauses after *yiqtol* ... and following imperatives ..." The previous statement is of utmost importance in this particular study. Both Niccacci (1995) and Longacre (1992) contend that *weqatal*, and not *yiqtol* as Schneider claimed, presents the "main storyline" in discourse, i.e., the degree zero perspective. It shares this degree zero with *yiqtol* and the volitional forms, particularly the imperatives, unlike in narrative where *wayyiqtol* is the only degree zero verb form.<sup>18</sup> It should be pointed out though, that *weqatal*, however, like *wayyiqtol*, always takes sentence-initial position, but is never at initial position in the verbal sequence. One might then say that *weqatal* takes initial position at sentence level, but not at text level. This position, in discourse, is always occupied by *yiqtol* or the volitional forms, or various other constructions. *Weqatal* then is a verbal form that continues the action after it is introduced by either one of the mentioned forms, so that despite presenting the backbone in discourse, on a text level, *weqatal* is essentially a continuation form.

### 3.3.2 Eep Talstra

Much of the credit that goes to Schneider as the pioneer of Biblical Hebrew textlinguistics, must necessarily also go to Talstra for introducing Schneider to the wider (especially the English-speaking) academic world, with two excellent essays wherein he discusses Schneider's work. In his first essay "Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible 1: Elements of a Theory," Talstra defines his aim as "to describe the main issues of Schneider's syntax in

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<sup>18</sup>For a somewhat different view see Talstra (1995, 166-178).



connection with the theoretical background and also to indicate which points of the theory could be corrected or further developed” (1978, 169).

The major shortcoming of Schneider’s grammar was his oversight to spell out his theoretical presuppositions. It is in this respect that Talstra’s contribution is of particular significance, by highlighting the theoretical principles that undergird Schneider’s work. He emphasizes the following central concepts of this approach evident in Schneider’s work:

- (i) Schneider, first of all, moved away from the sentence to the text as the largest unit of grammatical description. Consequently, a language should be studied according to its function as a means of human communication.
- (ii) Secondly, Talstra claims that the European structural influence can be seen in Schneider’s definition of syntax as describing all grammatical signals in a text that produces a preliminary sorting of the world into speaker and listener.

Talstra regards Schneider’s approach as formal since he starts with the formal features of the text and then proceeds to the functions of these formal classes. Talstra identifies this method in the following definitions presented by Schneider:

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|---|--|
| <b>VC: Verbal clause:</b> <sup>19</sup>                 | Any clause beginning with a verb is a verbal clause; The verbal clause is used for the statement A does B. |
| <b>NC: Noun clause:</b>                                 | Any clause beginning with a noun is a nominal clause; The noun clause is used for the statement A is B.    |
| <b>CNC:</b> <sup>20</sup> <b>Complex nominal clause</b> | A complex nominal clause is when the nominal predicate of a NC is substituted by either a VC or a NC.      |

Talstra points out that Schneider’s description of the verbal system is textlinguistic in nature.

As a result, he attempts to describe the function of each verbal form in the process of

<sup>19</sup>For a different opinion on verbal and noun clauses, see Gross (1996, 9-17).

<sup>20</sup>Gross recently questioned the validity of a CNC in Biblical Hebrew, in an article entitled “Is there really a ‘compound noun clause,’ in Biblical Hebrew?” (1999, 19-49).



communication. As I have dealt with this aspect to some extent in my discussion of Weinrich and Schneider, I will not dwell on it any further.

Talstra supports Schneider's opinion that grammatical analysis should proceed from form to function and stresses that the description of forms should precede the allocations of functions in grammatical research.<sup>21</sup> Talstra concludes by establishing that the adaptation of a "structuralistic, textlinguistic theory to Hebrew to be very useful and inspiring, but that the model does need further development." The neglect of semantics in Schneider's work, is according to Talstra, one major aspect that needed refinement.

In the second of his review articles on Schneider, "Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. II: Syntax and Semantics," Talstra sets out to address exactly the abovementioned shortcoming. He summarizes what he attempted to do in his first article as follows: "to demonstrate that the most rewarding use of a structuralistic, textlinguistic theory for the grammatical description of Biblical Hebrew will come from a consistent analysis, starting from linguistic forms and going to communicative functions" (1982, 26). He further highlights the following deficiencies in Schneider's work "It was also concluded, however, that a formal textgrammar, as proposed by Schneider is likely to meet with difficulties when it has to describe either linguistic forms that appear to possess more than one function (e.g. the modal use of *yqtl*) or the relationship between syntactic and semantic levels of a text" (1982, 26).

Of particular interest to this study is Talstra's treatment of discursive tenses and modality. I will now briefly focus on that discussion. Talstra finds Schneider's treatment of the modal interpretation of unmarked verbal forms or clauses particularly wanting. In most such cases, Schneider would refer to the context as a sufficient warrant for the modal description of a

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<sup>21</sup>This has been the basic approach of the "Richter School" who insisted on first describing the "Ausdruckseite" before conclusions can be made with regard to the "Inhaltsseite." The term "Richter School" refers to that approach to grammatical research propagated by the German scholar Wolfgang Richter and his students, among others Walter Gross, Hubert Irsigler and Harald Schweizer.



specific form. Talstra aptly points out that Schneider should not only mention context, but should also describe it. That is, he should make clear what it is about a certain context that justifies a modal interpretation of the specific verbal form. He asserts, quite correctly I believe, that both word order and order of clauses can serve as markers of modality. Talstra then attempts to give examples, both in narrative and discourse, to show how a more complete list of the formal conditions for the modal interpretation of certain verbal forms can be obtained by specifically describing the context. He concludes “It seems to me that by means of a detailed formal inventory of sentence types, conjunctions and sequences of discursive tense forms, one might be able to define several other modal functions for *yqtl* in discursive text” (1981, 32). I fully support this statement and only time and further study will reveal its full significance. Lastly, it is perhaps best to let Talstra speak for himself when summarizing his second article:

1. One should try to analyze from linguistic *forms* to linguistic *functions*. A further refinement of Schneider’s *Syntax* is in my opinion very well possible. Section 2 and 3 have tried to show that a grammatical description of linguistic phenomena, left by Schneider to semantic and literary interpretation, can be found (although it is improbable that one synchronic description of Biblical Hebrew can be made).
2. Semantic analysis should be performed within the framework set by the syntactic features of a text, because in linguistic communication syntactic and semantic levels co-operate and do not function mutually independently. This also implies a procedure which analyses from the *formal* to the *functional* aspects of a text (1981, 38).

Talstra’s contribution to textlinguistics cannot be overemphasized. It is almost true to say, that in order to understand Schneider, one has to have read Talstra (unless of course one has been acquainted with the work of Weinrich). Talstra does, by systematic presentation of his theoretical principles, make the work of Schneider far more accessible and understandable.



In a more recent article Talstra (1997), attempts to apply some of the theoretical principles he expounded on earlier. Talstra argues that the ongoing debate about whether the verbal system of Biblical Hebrew is based on the categories of time or aspect, limits the field of research into Biblical Hebrew to clause level categories. He proposes a larger field of research, based on the following criteria: Firstly, a clear distinction “between an approach based on clause-level grammar and one based on text-level grammar” needs to be made. Secondly, an analysis of “the verbal forms of an entire text in terms of both text grammatical and clause grammatical categories” is necessary. Thirdly, there needs to be “a clear ordering of grammatical observations and conclusions: from classes of text-grammar to categories of clause-grammar and next to classifications of a more functional and pragmatic type.” Talstra proceeds in his article to apply these criteria to the study of a specific text (1997, 81-103).

Talstra’s proposals might have far-reaching implications for, and present a clear way forward to, the study of final constructions. I have repeatedly argued that the problem in the analysis of final constructions in traditional grammars, is the failure to adequately consider final sentences in relation to their matrixes and, therefore, as elements of a two-member syntactic construction. These grammars have persisted with what Talstra calls a clause-level grammatical analysis. A text-level analysis, as Talstra recommends, appears to me at this stage as providing greater possibilities for the description of final constructions.

Talstra’s call for the description of verbal forms of an entire text in terms of both clause-grammatical and text-grammatical categories has definite implications for the study of final constructions. Niccacci earlier suggested that sub- or co-ordination is dependent on the syntactic status of the verbs in the construction, without necessarily defining what determines the syntactic status of verbal forms. Talstra’s proposal for the analysis of verbal forms in terms of clause- and text-level grammatical categories appears to be a plausible way of



approaching the issue. I will return to this in the analysis of the conjunctional and the conjunctionless final constructions in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively.

### 3.3.3 Alviero Niccacci

Niccacci shows that the major difference between his work and that of his predecessors, Schneider and Talstra, is his separation of poetic texts from narrative text and that the basis for his work is therefore “a good reading of narrative texts” (1987, 10). However, in my opinion, and in relation to this current study, his greatest contribution was attributing the volitive forms to discourse<sup>22</sup> and showing that they indicate mainline information. It is remarkable that in many studies which present the Hebrew tenses as a two-verbal opposition system, the volitive forms are normally not accounted for within that system.<sup>23</sup> Verheij’s (1990) criticism that Niccacci did not contribute significantly to the work of Talstra and Schneider is perhaps unnecessarily harsh.<sup>24</sup>

An important difference in Niccacci’s work from that of Schneider is his contention that weqatal, like wayyiqtol in narrative, appears to be the mainline verb form in discourse. He states “A chain of weqatal is characteristic of discourse just as a chain of wayyiqtol is characteristic of narrative” (1995, 118). Niccacci incorrectly asserts that Schneider established “a basic opposition between narrative wayyiqtol and non-narrative qatal” (1995, 121).<sup>25</sup> This basic difference, i.e., that the basic opposition between narrative and discourse is the verbal

<sup>22</sup>This fact is so strikingly obvious that it is strange that Schneider omitted to show where the volitional forms fit into his textlinguistic scheme, though it is quite obvious that they belong to discourse. It is also my contention that it presents mainline information in discourse.

<sup>23</sup>See Irsigler, for example (1978, 159). Compare also the discussion “Inversionspaare im hebräischen Verbalsatz”, by the same author (1996, 17-19).

<sup>24</sup>Van der Merwe cites at least seven instances where he recognises Niccacci to represent a development of Schneider (1997, 11-13).

<sup>25</sup>This is typical of the many inaccuracies in Niccacci’s work. His work sometimes gives the impression of, despite many astute observations, careless scholarship as many of his claims are presented without sufficient textual evidence in substantiation. Van der Merwe, therefore, captures my sentiments when he writes “Niccacci tends to operate with idiosyncratic, and often confusing, labels for the categories he uses” (1997, 11).



forms *wayyiqtol* and *qatal* respectively, however, is what distinguishes Niccacci's work from that of Schneider.<sup>26</sup>

Of particular interest to this study is Niccacci's rather novel view on co- and sub-ordination. He asserts that co- and sub-ordination are not affected by *waw* in any way. He contends that co- or sub-ordination does not depend on *waw*, as is commonly held, but on the position of the verb in the sentence. Co-ordination, according to Niccacci, is a sequence of verb forms of the same syntactic status. Sentence-initial verbal forms constitute a specific syntactic status whereas non-initial verb forms indicate a different syntactic status. Sub-ordination is a sequence of verb forms with different syntactic status (1994, 127-128). Such a theory, if it proves to be valid, could solve many perplexities with regard to the problem of co-ordination and sub-ordination in Biblical Hebrew. However, Niccacci did not provide enough evidence to substantiate his view. In presenting his theory, he should at least have described the various linguistic levels for both narrative and discourse. He also, in support of his theory, could have attempted to allocate the different verb forms which function at the various levels. In this way it would have been easier to ascertain whether his claim holds true or not. As it stands, it merely remains an unverifiable contention, like so many of Niccacci's claims.

Another statement that Niccacci makes and which could be of relevance to this particular study is the following: "Verb forms occupying the first position constitute verbal sentences, signal the main level of communication and establish connections in the text" (1995, 111). I would like to contest his assertion that first-position verbs always signal the main level of communication. This is disputable in conjunctionless final constructions. The main verb in these forms is *weyiqtol* which always occupy sentence-initial position. Final sentences, however, provide background information, and not main level communication, as it temporarily interrupts the mainline communication to provide a glimpse into the "Aussage

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<sup>26</sup>According to Schneider (1978, 183) the basic verbal forms in opposition to one another is *wayyiqtol* and *yiqtol*.



Absicht". In most cases, as will be seen in Chapters 4 and 5, the mainline weyiqtol then is followed by weqatal which is also sentence-initial, but unlike weyiqtol, indicates mainline information in discourse. In other words, after the short excursion into the intention of the speaker, the writer, by opting for weqatal after weyiqtol, returns to the main level of communication. Niccacci's claim would apply if he was to distinguish between the categories, sentence-initial and text-initial. His supposition then, will only hold true for the latter category.

### 3.3.4 Robert E. Longacre

Longacre acknowledges that his approach is similar to those followed by Schneider and Niccacci.<sup>27</sup> His differs from theirs in his insistence on the relevance of a variety of discourse types for the analysis. Longacre's views, based, among other things, on a detailed study of the Joseph narrative, distinguishes four discourse genres; narrative, procedural, hortatory and expository or instructional discourse.

To understand how Longacre arrived at these genres, it is necessary to briefly interrogate his *discourse modular approach* to Biblical Hebrew grammar. In terms of this approach Longacre basically proposes that Biblical Hebrew grammar be considered as a series of discourse types, each type representing a particular module of this hypothetical grammar. Longacre proposes four distinct discourse types, namely, Narrative, Procedural Discourse, Predictive Discourse and Hortatory Discourse. He broadly distinguishes these types on the basis of the form and function of the verbs that occur in them. Longacre thus follows Schneider, whom we have seen, distinguishes between narrative and discourse texts. As Schneider has done before him, Longacre differentiates between foreground and background in the text relief, and for each discourse module identifies the verbal forms that constitute the

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<sup>27</sup>See Longacre (1992, 177).

backbone/mainline/primary story-line as opposed to the forms that convey the background/non-mainline or secondary story-line.

The following is a brief summary of Longacre's four discourse types.

- (i) ***Narrative***. In such texts, the verb forms focus around wayyiqtol, which forms the backbone or primary story-line. NQTL constitutes the secondary story-line.
- (ii) ***Predictive Discourse***. He defines such discourse as a story told in advance, e.g., 1 Samuel 10:2-7. Instead of wayyiqtol, the backbone is formed by WQTL and the secondary story-line by NyQTL forms.
- (iii) ***Procedural Discourse*** accounts for Longacre's third module. In this group, as in Predictive discourse, WQTL forms the backbone. He describes such texts as "how to do texts" and differentiates between "how to do" and "how it was done" procedural discourse.
- (iv) ***Hortatory Discourse*** constitutes Longacre's fourth and final group. This group is characterized by a string of commands (imperatives, jussives and cohortatives), as well as weqatal in its main story-line. Longacre points out that this group is quite distinct from the other groups.

According to Longacre, therefore, weqatal serves as backbone structures in Predictive, Procedural and Hortatory discourse. All these texts genres, i.e., Predictive, Procedural and Hortatory, basically constitute discourse texts. Hence, in terms of the linguistic model for Biblical Hebrew introduced by Wolfgang Schneider, Longacre suggests that weqatal functions as the backbone in discourse texts. In narrative texts, wayyiqtol forms the backbone.



Niccacci claims that Longacre's schemes posit an unnecessary large variety of text types, many of which are so similar that distinction is hardly possible. Furthermore, Niccacci contends that verb forms often overlap and by posing so many different text types "it becomes difficult to perceive a coherent, overall system of Biblical Hebrew verb forms" (1994, 118). Hence, it is much more appropriate to work with the basic opposition narrative/discourse rather than cloud the issue by introducing more text types as Longacre attempts to do.

Den Exter Blokland (1996) provides a more extensive critique of Longacre's approach. He is generally more complimentary of Longacre's contribution than Niccacci, showing that at the heart of Longacre's method is the tagmemic model, originally introduced by Pike (1996, 28). The value of Longacre's approach, according to den Exter Blokland is that it is capable of processing "any text from the highest level to the lowest" and that it has been applied to a "sizable chunk of Hebrew text" (1996, 20). He also finds the notion of "verb rank" which Longacre introduces quite useful as it implies that "clause types containing certain verbal forms can be ranked according to the measures of dynamism they express, thereby indicating that they either carry the main line or various sorts of background in different text types" (1996, 20). Den Exter Blokland does, however, identify a serious shortcoming in Longacre's approach which he summarizes as follows: "Longacre's descendent model is to a large extent indeterminate, because its paragraph definition is not syntactical but based on semantic notions" (1996, 21). This sentence, I believe, captures the essence of the shortcoming of Longacre's work. Furthermore, den Exter Blokland argues that Longacre does not "provide sufficient syntactical anchoring for his functions above clause or sentence level" (1996, 21). Van der Merwe's (1997, 144) skepticism that some of Longacre's suggestions "throw a shadow over the level of BH knowledge that underlies his analysis at the lower levels of description", is consequently not without valid ground.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>For his extensive critique of Longacre, compare van der Merwe (1994, 26-29) and (1997, 142-145)



I have pointed out earlier that Longacre joins Niccacci by recognizing weqatal as the backbone<sup>29</sup> structure in discourse. Longacre asserts “I consider the weqatal forms as backbone structures in predictive, procedural and instructional discourses. Here they occur in their own right and not consecutive to other verb forms” (1994, 51). The last statement is somehow problematic. What Longacre failed to see is that, although as he rightly shows, weqatal, like wayyiqtol is sentence-initial, weqatal notwithstanding, is never chain-initial. Ironically, Longacre in discussing weqatal in predictive discourse shows that the weqatal chain is introduced by an infinitive construction. What Longacre disregarded is that weqatal never stands at the head of its chain, and even though always sentence-initial, it is primarily a continuation form, signifying progress along the main narrative line. Longacre observes correctly “The *weqatal* forms, in exactly parallel fashion to *wayyiqtol* forms in narrative, are clause initial and cannot occur after conjunction or sub-ordinating particles.” Whereas “*wayyiqtol* forms give way to the perfect in narrative, so *weqatal* give way to the imperfect *yiqtol* in prediction” (1994, 52). Yiqtol in discourse is like qatal in narrative and thus a secondary verbal form. This claim is corroborated by this study on final sentences in which the final sentence (a sub-ordinate sentence) is introduced by weyiqtol in sentence-initial position. In the majority of these cases, as will be seen in the next chapter, the main sentence includes a weqatal chain.

The contention that weqatal is a mainline form as Niccacci suggests, or backbone in discourse as Longacre affirms, deserves closer scrutiny. Firstly, it should be noted that weqatal is a continuation form and not a chain-initial form. This means that the direction of the flow of the discourse and “the connections in the text”, to use Niccacci’s words, are not determined by weqatal but by those forms which occupy the first position in the chain. These are the “pegs

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<sup>29</sup>Talstra appears to have a different opinion regarding what constitutes mainline information in discourse texts. He asserts, “A storyline made up of *wayyiqtol* forms is more easily established than a mainline made up of *yiqtol* and *qetol* (imperative) forms in an argumentative text” (1993, 278-279). With this statement Talstra seems to acknowledge the inherent difficulties in describing weqatal as mainline or backbone, as it is primarily a continuation form, and does not give direction to the



on the clothesline”, to draw on that analogy. These pegs keep the clothes (weqatal forms) on the line. Weqatal serves only as complement to these forms. Alternatively, it can be said that weqatal places itself in the service of these forms, i.e., in a main sentence weqatal following an imperative serves as a volition, in a sub-ordinate sentence weqatal following a final construction with **לְמַעַן**, expresses a result. Consequently, the mainline or backbone in discourse is not introduced by weqatal - on the contrary, the mainline or backbone is introduced by those forms which weqatal complements.<sup>30</sup>

Another disputable issue to take up with Longacre is his claim that weqatal following an imperative expresses purpose or result, and particularly result.<sup>31</sup> This contention, in my opinion, is questionable as discourse has formal syntactic means to express purpose/result, i.e., the verbform *yiqtol*. A further dilemma is that weqatal expresses mainline information and that it will be difficult to argue that the chain imperative/weqatal always expresses result. If there is the odd exception, it might be semantic result or even logical/temporal result.<sup>32</sup> However, the imperative chain does syntactically realize result in Hebrew. Weqatal in almost all of such cases is simply a continuation form. It should also be noted that weqatal, as is the imperative, expresses mainline information in discourse and, therefore, according to Niccacci's view on sub-ordination, weqatal is always co-ordinate and never sub-ordinate to

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narrative as the other forms do. It namely never introduces a verbal chain. It rather appears to place itself into the service of the verbal form that introduces the verbal chain which includes *yiqtol* and *qetol* as Talstra has correctly pointed out.

<sup>30</sup>One has to do an independent study to determine all the forms that weqatal continues. *Yiqtol* and the imperative are but two examples of such forms.

<sup>31</sup>See Longacre (1989, 134). Cf. also Longacre (1994, 54). In the latter he claims that weqatal, following a chain of imperatives, “... do not simply continue the meaning of the command form but rather express result or outcome.” This statement seems to support my proposal in Chapter 4 that weqatal following a final sentence expresses real result, while the preceding final sentence realises the semantic function of purpose. I differ from Longacre however, as I propose that weqatal following an imperative continues the imperative function. My contention holds true for discourse texts. I am not aware of what the state of affairs are for narrative texts. It is also not clear whether Longacre's claim concerns both narrative or discourse texts. I will return to this issue in Chapter 4 with substantiation for my position.

<sup>32</sup>Longacre claims that Genesis 8:16-17 and Exodus 5:1, where weqatal follows an imperative, is translated result in most English versions. However, Longacre is misdirected in Exodus 5:1, where the imperative is followed by *weyiqtol* (and not weqatal as he claims), and therefore correctly translated as purpose/result by most English versions. I find also no compelling reason why Genesis 8:16-17 should be translated as a result as Longacre proposes. This is a normal continuation weqatal after the chain is introduced by an imperative. The Hebrew text abounds with such examples. See Deuteronomy 4:1, 8:1.



the imperatives. This fact will exclude the possibility of weqatal realizing a final clause in discourse, should Niccacci's position on sub-ordination and co-ordination be proven tenable.

### 3.4 PRELIMINARY THESES FOR A TEXTLINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF FINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

It has been repeatedly noted by various scholars that discourse texts have a far less structured form than narrative texts. Talstra thus concludes that it is easier to apply Weinrich's theory to the latter than to the former (1995, 276). He further notes that "a storyline made up of *wayyiqtol* forms is more easily established than a mainline made up of *yiqtol* and *qetol* (imperative) forms in argumentative texts" (1995, 278-279). Endo points out that in discourse texts "a greater variety of verbal forms... and more freestanding verbal forms were available" (1993, 329). Gross likens discourse verbal forms to poetic texts.<sup>33</sup> Because of this greater variety of verbal forms in discourse texts,<sup>34</sup> the text relief of these texts is far more multi-dimensional<sup>35</sup> than that of narrative texts. Gross aptly notices this and concludes:

Während in erzählender Prosa alle Sätze miteinander verknüpft werden - Satzweiser wa= -, zueinander in syntaktische Beziehung treten, weshalb auch jede Art von Asyndese syntaktische Bedeutung hat, kann in Rede jederzeit neu eingesetzt, ein Satz gesprochen werden, der nicht in syntaktische Beziehung zu vorhergehenden Sätzen tritt, sondern für sich steht, wie jeweils der erste Satz einer Rede oder, - bei Rede und Gegenrede - der erste Satz der Gesprächseröffnung (1976, 77).

Gross is attentive to the greater variety or modes of expression in discourse than in narrative.<sup>36</sup> He also identifies the peculiarity of discourse texts where a verbal form can introduce a chain and then is continued by another verbform, mainly weqatal. This is due to the fact that the verbal form for mainline communication in discourse, that is weqatal, never

<sup>33</sup>"Poesie entspricht zumeist den Redeformen nicht der erzählten, sondern der besprochen Welt" (1976, 77).

<sup>34</sup>It has been repeatedly pointed out in this discussion that whereas mainline communication in narrative is restricted to *wayyiqtol* forms, a variety of verbalforms express mainline communication in discourse.

<sup>35</sup>Talstra, aware of this problem poses the dilemma "It is not always clear what the relationship of *yiqtol* and *qetol* or W-qatal forms is. Which of them marks the main line of argumentation in direct speech text?" (1995, 283).

<sup>36</sup>Verheij, comparing the distribution of verbal forms in Samuel Kings and Chronicles reaches the same conclusion. "The discursive material shows quite another picture than the narrative texts ... Discursive text apparently makes a more varied selection of the tense form system than narrative text does" (1990, 98).



introduces the chain but is a continuation form. Gross's conclusion that these introductory verb forms, simply "für sich steht" and therefore "nicht in syntaktische Beziehung zu vorhergehenden Sätzen tritt" is to be questioned on the basis of the unique usage of weqatal in discourse reiterated above. Most of the recent textlinguistic studies have concentrated on narrative texts, so that the functions and verbal patterns of the verbal forms in discourse are rather still unresearched. Final constructions are largely, but not exclusively, a function of discourse, irrespective of whether the speech is direct or indirect.

My reconsidered theses,<sup>37</sup> in the light of the discussed textlinguistic descriptions of Biblical Hebrew regarding final sentences, which I will apply and test in the next three chapters are thus:

### **3.4.1 With regard to the form and function dichotomy:**

Bearing in mind the pitfalls of firstly describing functional categories and thereafter identifying forms in the texts that appear to correspond to these categories, this study will analyze from form "Ausdruckseite" to function "Inhaltsseite". All the expressions of final constructions will be gathered through a careful reading of narrative texts and some computer-generated search programs after which attempts will be made on the basis of differences in form to ascribe various functions to them.<sup>38</sup>

### **3.4.2 With regard to the verbal forms in discourse:**

**3.4.2.1** It is my contention that weqatal expresses the mainline in discourse. So does the volitional forms (imperative), the infinitive absolute as well as yiqtol (LF). There is a basic contrast between these forms though. To illustrate this difference, the

<sup>37</sup>These theses exclude those result sentences with וְשֵׁנִי. See Seidl (1991), and result sentences introduced by וְשֵׁנִי (normally with an interrogative sentence in the matrix).

<sup>38</sup>Computer programs used were Eep Talstra's *Quest* program at the Free University of Amsterdam which proved particularly helpful to gather data for the conjunctionless final sentences, and *Logos* (an electronic information program by Logos Research Systems, Oak Harbor, Washington) which was used to search for the conjunctive final constructions.

distinction between verbal forms which are sentence-initial and those that are chain-initial, could prove helpful. The above-mentioned three, viz., volitional, the infinitive absolute and yiqtol, are used to introduce a verbal chain (chain-initial) and, as such, “signals the main level of communication and establishes connections in the text.”<sup>39</sup> These are the discourse verbal forms which are, according to Gross “in Rede jederzeit neu eingesetzt ... nicht in syntaktische Beziehung zu vorhergehenden Sätzen tritt ... für sich steht ... der erste Satz einer Rede ... der erste Satz der Gesprächseröffnung” (1976, 77). In other words, these forms are chain-initial or forms which indicate, to use Gross’ term, “Gesprächseröffnung.”

**3.4.2.2** Weqatal is always sentence-initial, but unlike the forms described above, is never used for “Gesprächseröffnung,” i.e., chain-initial. Although weqatal is always sentence-initial, it is in essence a continuation form which follows the verbal form mentioned after the conversation has been opened by these forms. Hence, weqatal is an initial form on sentence level but not on text level. Weqatal, however, places itself at the disposal of these chain-initial verbs, i.e., weqatal following an imperative will carry forward the volitional function,<sup>40</sup> and function on the mainline of the communication.

**3.4.2.3** Weyiqtol is a secondary tense and expresses information which does not lie on the mainline. Because weqatal expresses mainline information, one would not expect it to occur in sub-ordinated clauses in discourse. Final clauses do not lie on the mainline, but express background information.

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<sup>39</sup>Niccacci (1995, 111)

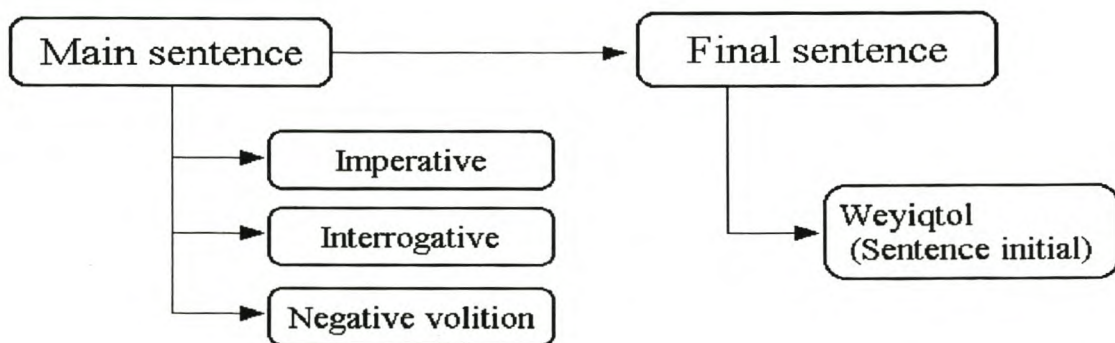
<sup>40</sup>Against Longacre (1989, 134)



**3.4.3 Final constructions are two-element syntactic constructions: My thesis regarding this construction is as follows:**

**3.4.3.1** These constructions consist of a main sentence “Vordersatz”, and a final clause or “Nachsatz”.

**3.4.3.2** In conjunctionless final constructions the matrix “Vordersatz” must be occupied by either a verbal form expressing “Aufforderung” or an interrogative sentence. The diagram below illustrates the pattern for conjunctionless final constructions.



**3.4.3.3** In conjunctive final constructions a different situation manifests. The final conjunction is always followed by the long form<sup>41</sup> of the prefix conjugation in cases where the distinction long/short form is morphologically realisable. The range of conjunctive final constructions is wider as a greater variety of verbal forms may occupy the main clause in such constructions. Among these are weqatal, another final construction, wayyiqtol and a nominal sentence. Examples will be supplied in Chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>41</sup>See also Richter (1978, 191).

### **3.4.4 Conjunctionless final constructions: The problem of sub-ordination and co-ordination:**

**3.4.4.1** I have discussed Niccacci's thesis of sub- and co-ordination.<sup>42</sup> and have presented arguments why such a thesis is not tenable. The question of co-ordination and sub-ordination is important in identifying if there is a final relation between successive verbal forms. In conjunctive final clauses sub-ordination is marked by the conjunction. In conjunctionless final clauses it is not quite so straightforward. Final clauses are dependent on sub-ordination. It is my contention that sub-ordination is dependent on the syndetic juxtaposition of two verbal forms (in the case of conjunctionless final clauses). In other words, with respect to conjunctionless final constructions, for a final relation to be realised between two successive verbal forms, two conditions must prevail.

3.4.4.1.1 There must be a change in the verbal forms involved. This implies that successive imperatives, or cohortatives can never realise a final relation. In this study, the short or long form of the same verbal conjugation (i.e., yiqtol 3<sup>rd</sup> person long or short form, the cohortative form in the 1<sup>st</sup> person as opposed to the normal 1<sup>st</sup> person form) constitute different verbal forms.

3.4.4.1.2 The first verbal form must be a form expressing "Aufforderung" and the second verbal form must be syndetic.

**3.4.4.2** In the verbal sequence imperative/weyiqtol there is a change in verbal form and, as such, a final relation can be realised.

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<sup>42</sup>For Niccacci's view see section 2.5.1.4.



**3.4.4.3** What about a cohortative chain, so common in direct speech sections? Because there is no change in verbal form from the main to the final clause, it is my contention, to which I will return in Chapter 5, that two cohortatives cannot express a final relation as two cohortatives represent the same verbal form.<sup>43</sup>

**3.4.5 Final constructions and the linguistic distinction discourse/narrative:<sup>44</sup>**

**3.4.5.1** It is my contention that conjunctionless or unmarked constructions occur exclusively in direct speech (as it requires a verbal form expressing “Aufforderung” in the matrix). I do however, expect to find conjunctive final constructions in both discourse and narrative texts.

**3.4.5.2** It is also my contention that conjunctive and conjunctionless final constructions cover different domains in Biblical Hebrew. Conjunctionless final constructions are amenable mainly to expressing final relations in direct speech in narrative texts. It is very common in 1 Samuel to 2 Kings as well as the narrative sections in Genesis ... especially narrative sections with many direct speech sections as in the Joseph narrative in Genesis 37 - 50. Conjunctive final constructions express finality in discourse/speech texts and such constructions are very common in Deuteronomy.

**3.4.5.3** I further suspect that the semantic ranges covered by the two constructions will differ with very little overlap.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>See section 5.9.

<sup>44</sup>By discourse text I mean direct speech texts. I am aware that direct speech occurs frequently in narrative texts.

<sup>45</sup>More about this in Chapter 5.

### **3.4.6 With regard to the distinction clause level and text level grammatical description:**

**3.4.6.1** Because final constructions are members of a two-element syntactic construction, it must be analysed on both clause as well as text levels. The treatment of final constructions in traditional grammars seems to have been confined to a narrow clause level analysis.

**3.4.6.2** A distinction of verbal forms on the basis of clause level and text level grammatical analysis could yield answers to the problem of sub-ordination and co-ordination. It will also possibly yield solutions to final sentences which are in non-contact position,<sup>46</sup> often very far removed from its governing verb in the matrix.

### **3.4.7 With regard to the distinction purpose/result in final clauses:**

Although this study purports to be a syntactic analysis, it is my contention that the distinction purpose/result cannot be differentiated purely on syntactic grounds, but that semantic considerations will inevitable have to play a role in a meaningful discussion of these concepts. In my investigation concerning the distinction purpose/result I expect to endorse Talstra's (1982, 38) claim that "in linguistic communication syntactic and semantic levels co-operate and do not function mutually independently."

## **3.5 CONCLUSION**

In the preceding paragraphs, I have undertaken to sketch the main theoretical and methodological assumptions that will form the basis of my investigations of final constructions in the chapters to follow. In so doing, I have attempted to present a framework



for a textlinguistic approach to the investigation of final constructions. These were finally presented as a set of hypotheses. Much of these suppositions/hypotheses will be tested in the ensuing chapters and consequently will be either confirmed, modified or proven untenable. In Chapter 4, I will address the problem of conjunctive final constructions. In Chapter 5, the conjunctionless final constructions will be examined. In Chapter 6, an analysis will be conducted of Genesis 27 where these two groups are used alternatively. Chapter 6 also presents a good case study to compare conjunctive and conjunctionless final sentences and to double check my hypothesis concerning the usage in an complete text, as opposed to individual examples from various texts, as was the case in chapters 4 and 5.

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<sup>46</sup>See Chapter 4 for a definition and discussion of the syntactic relevance of the terms contact and non-contact.

## CHAPTER 4

### CONJUNCTIONAL FINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will analyze and describe the conjunctional final constructions. Final constructions, we have seen, can be divided into two groups: those with, and those without conjunctions. I have referred to them as conjunctional and conjunctionless final constructions respectively. The former is much easier to recognize as they are marked by the conjunction as final sentences. The latter group is not marked in the same way. Yet we can be sure they are final because, as we shall see in the next chapter, they are syntactically marked by such features as verbal sequences, verbal forms, syndesis, and word order, among others.

The conjunctional final constructions present an apparent problem, as the conjunctions involved can function both as prepositions or as conjunctions. Their functions can be differentiated, however, by a simple rule: When the preposition/conjunction precedes a noun,<sup>1</sup> it functions as a preposition. When it is immediately succeeded by a finite verb or an infinitive, it functions as a conjunction.

The conjunctional final constructions are of two types. Firstly, those in which the conjunction immediately precedes a finite verb (always prefix conjugation long form).<sup>2</sup> Secondly, those in

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<sup>1</sup>There are differences of opinion whether infinitive constructions constitute sentences. If that be the case, the infinitive is preceded by a conjunction and not by a preposition. There are also other reasons why infinitival constructions are treated as sentences in this study: Firstly, they are used in the same way as sentences with finite verbs in final constructions. Secondly, they can be co-ordinated with final sentences which have finite verbs in their "Nachsatz".

<sup>2</sup>There is one exception, viz., Joshua 4:24, where the conjunction is followed by a qatal. This is no doubt a text critical error and the apparatus shows that the problem resulted from the Masoretic vocalisation, and suggests that this form be read as an infinitive with a suffix.



which the conjunction is followed by an infinitive. The following conjunctions and conjunctive combinations introduce final sentences:<sup>3</sup>

1. לְמַעַן
2. בְּעֵבוּר
3. אֲשֶׁר
4. לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר
5. בְּעֵבוּר אֲשֶׁר
6. לְבְּעֵבוּר
7. בְּעֵבוּר לֹא
8. לְמַעַן לֹא
9. לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא

## 4.2 OBJECTIVES

Below I have outlined some objectives for this chapter, based on the hypotheses and methodological and theoretical assumptions presented in Chapter 3. These are:

- 4.2.1 To identify and describe the syntax of conjunctionless final constructions.
- 4.2.2 To test the contention that conjunctive final constructions occur in both narrative and discourse texts.
- 4.2.3 To test the hypothesis that weqatal expresses the “mainline” in discourse text and, as a result, does occur not in final sentences. Final sentences are sub-ordinated and as such relay background information.
- 4.2.4 To explore the relationship between purpose and result in final sentences.

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<sup>3</sup>See also Muraoka (1997, 229).

4.2.5 To test the hypothesis that the range<sup>4</sup> of conjunctive final constructions are wider than those of conjunctionless final constructions (This can, however, only be fully realised in Chapter 5 once the range of conjunctionless final constructions has been determined).

### 4.3 METHODOLOGY

I approached the study of conjunctive final constructions in the manner described below. I deemed the following approach necessary since most studies conducted on final constructions thus far, have paid too little attention to the construction as a whole. Most analyses were restricted to a sentence-level grammatical description of final constructions which, we have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, severely limit the linguistic description of final constructions. My approach is, accordingly, aimed at using both sentence-level as well as text-level grammatical analyses to describe final constructions.

In the discussion that follows, I will consider each conjunction, and each conjunctive construction separately. Each case is investigated individually, and below are some of the questions that are put to the texts.

In relation to the matrix or “Vordersatz:”

- (i) What is the verbal form occupying the matrix? i.e., *yiqtol*, *qetol*, *qatal*, *weqatal*, etc.
- (ii) Is the verbal form in the matrix volitional or non-volitional?
- (iii) Is the matrix occupied by a single verb or a verbal chain?

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<sup>4</sup>By range I mean the number and variety of constructions possible.



- (iv) What is the form of the verb governing<sup>5</sup> the matrix?
- (v) Is the “Nachsatz” of the final construction in contact or non-contact position with its governing verb (Contact position is when the final sentence i.e., “Nachsatz”, immediately follows its governing verb. In the non-contact position the final sentence is separated from its governing verb by a verbal chain). The syntactic significance of the labels contact and non-contact is that the former can easily be described in terms of a sentence-level analysis whereas a text-level analysis provides greater options for describing the latter.
- (vi) Is the construction under investigation part of a discourse or narrative text?

In relation to the “Nachsatz”, the following are the chief considerations:

- (i) Which conjunction introduces the “Nachsatz”?
- (ii) Is the conjunction syndetic or asyndetic?
- (iii) Is the verbal form in the “Nachsatz” a finite verb or an infinitive?
- (iv) If a finite verb, for which person is the verb marked (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup>)?
- (v) Does the “Nachsatz” follow or precede its matrix?
- (vi) What type of sentence follows the “Nachsatz” and what is its relation to the “Nachsatz”?

Consideration will also be given to whether there is a subject change between the “Vordersatz” and “Nachsatz”. Since the “Nachsatz” is syntactically definite,<sup>6</sup> i.e.,

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<sup>5</sup>I refer to the verb occupying the initial position in a matrix constituting more than one verb (i.e., a verbal chain) as the

## Final conjunction + yiqtol or infinitive

final constructions will be differentiated on the basis of the verbal forms that occupy the matrix.

A very important aspect is that in my treatment of conjunctive final constructions, those examples from poetic texts, although included for the sake of completeness, will not be among those constructions analyzed. I have alluded in section 2.4 to the reasons why I have excluded poetic texts from my corpus. I do in no way suggest that poetic texts are not useful for syntactic investigation, but propose instead that such an investigation should only be entered into once an hypothesis for prose texts has been formulated.

In the following presentation of my findings I will start with the conjunction **לְמַעַן** as it is the most numerous of the conjunctive constructions. The verb following the conjunction will be investigated with respect to its markedness for each verbal person separately (**לְמַעַן** yiqtol 3<sup>rd</sup> person, 2<sup>nd</sup> person, etc.), in order to test whether the conjunctive and conjunctionless constructions do not perhaps cover different verbal persons. It is my contention at this stage that conjunctionless final constructions are mainly found with 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person verbal forms in the “Nachsatz”. In contrast, conjunctive final constructions primarily have the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person verbal forms in the “Nachsatz”, with the number of 1<sup>st</sup> person cases negligible. Therefore, by creating separate categories for each case according to its markedness for verbal person, provision will be made to test the above contention.

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governing verb.

<sup>6</sup>By syntactically definite, I mean that the construction occupying the “Nachsatz” is more “predictable” (i.e., the final conjunction is followed by either yiqtol or infinitive) than the construction occupying the matrix.



For the purpose of greater clarity I will propose a variety of syntactic categories to be investigated. In each category I will identify different construction types based on my analysis of the individual cases. The following table outlines the various categories.

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| <b>Type A</b> | <b>Non-contact Position.</b> These are constructions in which the final conjunction <b>וְאָמַר</b> is not syntactically linked to an immediately preceding sentence (consisting of only one verb) in the matrix, but to a verbal chain. This verbal chain is usually, albeit not always, introduced by a volitional form, the “governing verb”, and is succeeded by a chain of weqatals, so that the verbal form preceding <b>וְאָמַר</b> is usually a weqatal form. I therefore refer to the final sentence as being in non-contact position, as the final sentence is detached from the governing verb which introduces the chain. |
| <b>Type B</b> | <b>Contact Position.</b> These are constructions in which the matrix is occupied by a single verb that governs it. <sup>7</sup> In these constructions the final sentence is sub-ordinated to an immediately preceding sentence (consisting of a single verb) and not to a verbal chain. The matrix is occupied by a volitional form in most cases. I refer to these sentences as being in contact position as they are juxtaposed to the verb on which they are dependent. In other words, they are in contact with their governing verb and not separated from it by a verbal chain as in construction type A.                     |
| <b>Type C</b> | <b>Volitional.</b> In this type the matrix is always occupied by a volitional form (Regardless if it is a single volitional form or a volitional chain). <sup>8</sup>  |
| <b>Type D</b> | <b>Non-Volitional.</b> Characteristic of this type is that the matrix is not occupied by a volitional form. <sup>9</sup> The latter i.e., non-volition in the matrix, is confined to the conjunctive final constructions, and can be in contact as well as non-contact position. It also occurs in discourse as well as narrative texts.   |

<sup>7</sup>Examples where the matrix consists of an imperative chain are also constituted under category B as the imperative chain consists of verbs of the same form and, therefore, according to this study, does not constitute a verbal chain. I have defined only those constructions where there are different verbal forms involved (i.e., imperative followed by weqatal, infinitive absolute followed by weqatal, etc.) as verbal chains.

<sup>8</sup>Hence these categories are not entirely exclusive (except for A and B, C and D), but overlap at some points.

<sup>9</sup>Categories A and D are exclusive to conjunctive final constructions.

The attributions A, B, C and D are totally arbitrary, and further varieties will be identified and added as other categories of conjunctive final constructions are considered. By arbitrary I mean that the allocations (A, B, C and D) do not carry any intrinsic value relating to its importance, neither do the allocations signify rank in relation to its significance. Whereas types A and B, and C and D are mutually exclusive, the combination B and C, or A and C, as well as A and D are attested. Distinguishing the categories A, B, C, and D has merely a heuristic function. The ultimate merit of these categories will only be clear at the end of the study.

#### 4.4 CONJUNCTIONAL FINAL CONSTRUCTIONS WITH לְמַעַן

##### 4.4.1 Statistics<sup>10</sup>

The particle לְמַעַן occurs 272 times in the Hebrew Bible. It functions 67 times (25% of all cases) as a preposition. As a preposition, it is followed by a nominal form. In this construction (i.e., when followed by a nominal form), it is not found at all in the minor Prophets. Likewise, it does not occur in Ezra, Nehemiah, Ester, and Joshua to 2 Samuel. Most common occurrences are in 2 Kings (15 times), Psalms (18 times), Isaiah (16 times) and Ezekiel (9 times).

As a final construction, לְמַעַן occurs 205 times in the Hebrew Bible. It precedes an infinitive construct 72 times. As such it is most prevalent in the books of Jeremiah (13 times), Deuteronomy (12 times), and Ezekiel (12 times). For the rest it is spread out fairly evenly over the books of the Hebrew Bible.

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<sup>10</sup>See also Brongers, (1973, 84-96).



The most frequently occurring form of לְמַעַן in final constructions is לְמַעַן followed by the prefix conjugation (longform). It is attested 133 times in the Hebrew Bible (a little under 50% of all לְמַעַן cases in the Hebrew Bible), occurring most frequently in Deuteronomy (47 times), Ezekiel (28 times), Jeremiah (16 times), Exodus (16 times) and the Psalms (14 times). These books contain 50% of all final לְמַעַן constructions. There are remarkably few examples in 1 Samuel to 2 Kings: 14 cases in all, of which 10 occur in 1 and 2 Samuel.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of לְמַעַן in the three major divisions of the Hebrew Bible.

#### 4.4.2 Observations Regarding the Distribution of לְמַעַן in the Hebrew Bible

The graphs are self explanatory to a large extent. I will highlight just a few points of interest:

- 4.4.2.1 In the *Torah*, לְמַעַן is used predominantly as a conjunction with the construction לְמַעַן yiqtol most common. Its prepositional use is extremely rare.
- 4.4.2.2 The prepositional use of לְמַעַן is more common in the *Neviim* though restricted to 1 and 2 Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.
- 4.4.2.3 The distribution of the constructions לְמַעַן yiqtol and לְמַעַן infinitive are spread more evenly among the books of the *Neviim*, though the occurrences of לְמַעַן constructions (of whatever kind) are very rare in the minor prophets.
- 4.4.2.4 In the *Ketuvim* the conjunctive use of לְמַעַן again far outnumbers its prepositional use. The construction לְמַעַן yiqtol far outnumbers other לְמַעַן conjunctive usages.

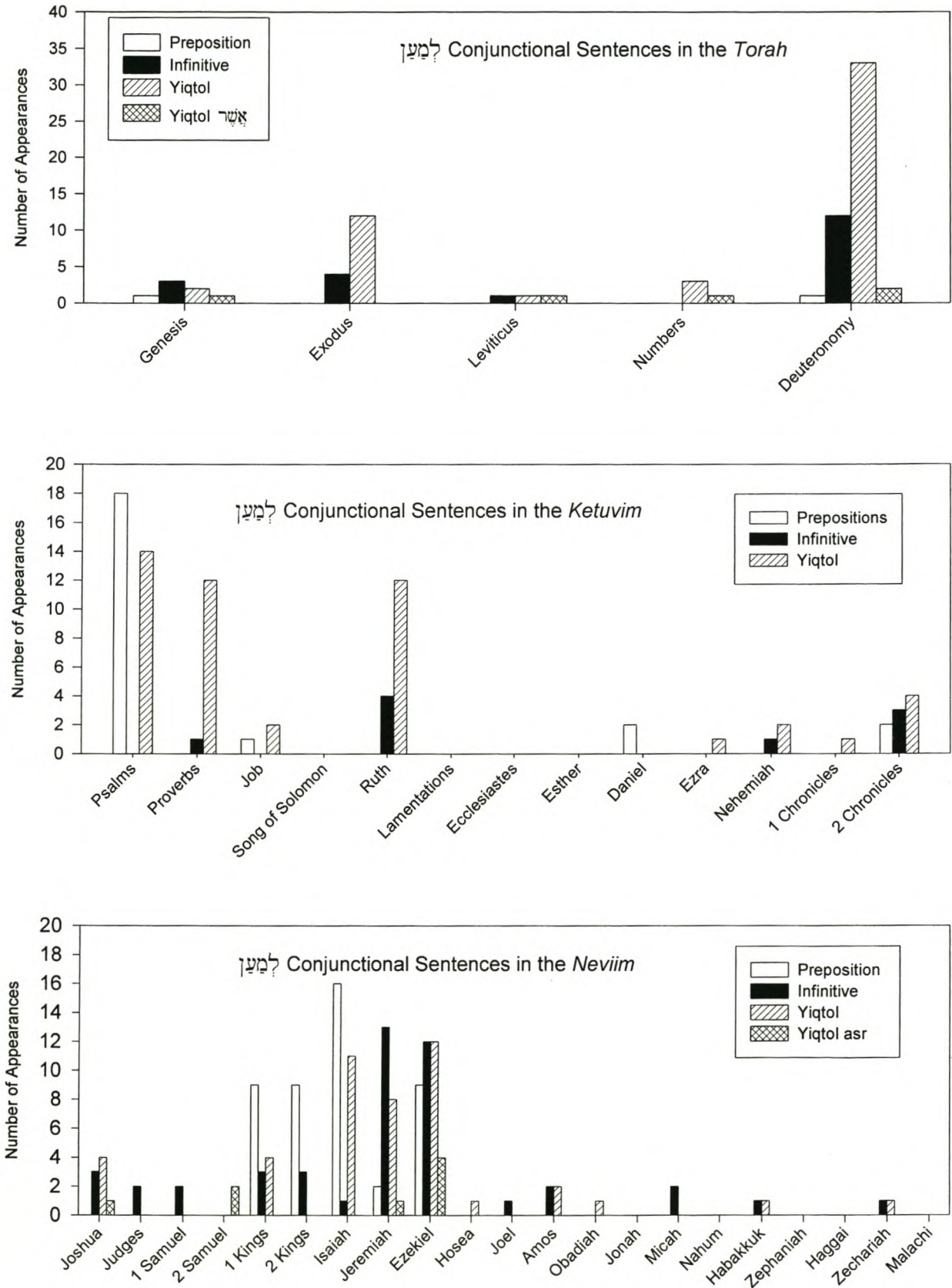


Figure 1. Distribution of **למען** in the books of the Old Testament.



#### 4.4.3 לַמַּעַן Yiqtol<sup>11</sup>

##### 4.4.3.1 לַמַּעַן Yiqtol 3<sup>rd</sup> Person<sup>12</sup> (Singular and Plural)

Genesis 12:13, 27:25, Exodus 4:5, 13:9, 16:32, 20:12, 23:12, Leviticus 23:42, Numbers 27:20, 36:8, Deuteronomy 5:16, 5:29, 6:2, 6:18, 11:20, 12:25, 12:28, 13:18, 14:29, 17:19, 17:20, 22:7, 23:21, 24:19, 25:15, 31:12, 31:19, Joshua 4:5-6, 1 Kings 2:3, 18:39-40, 8:43, Isaiah 28:13, 41:20, 44:9, 45:6, Jeremiah 7:23, 10:18, 32:14, 35:7, 36:3, 51:39, Ezekiel 4:17, 6:6, 12:16, 12:19, 14:11, 16:54, 19:9, 24:11, Hosea 8:4, Amos 9:12, Obadiah 9, Habakkuk 2:2, Zechariah 12:7, Psalm 30:13, 60:7, 78:6, 108:7, 125:3, 130:4, Job 19:29, 2 Chronicles 6:31, 6:33, 31:4, 32:18.

A study of the above texts presents the following results. I will analyze and describe the different syntactic configurations using the criteria spelled out earlier, after which I will attempt to define functions for these forms.

##### 4.4.3.1.1 Type A: Non-Contact Position - A Verbal Chain Constituting the Matrix

Numbers 27:18-20

18 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה  
קַח־לְךָ אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן־נֹון אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־רוּחַ בּוֹ  
וְסָמַכְתָּ אֶת־יָדְךָ עָלָיו:  
19 וְהָעֵמֶדֶת אֹתוֹ לִפְנֵי אֶלְעָזָר הַכֹּהֵן וּלִפְנֵי כָל־הָעֵדָה  
וְצִוִּיתָה אֹתוֹ לְעֵינֵיהֶם:  
20 וְנָתַתָּה מִהוֹדְךָ עָלָיו  
לַמַּעַן יִשְׁמְעוּ כָל־עַדְתְּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

*Comment:* The volitional chain in the matrix is introduced and governed by the imperative

קַח־לְךָ in verse 18. This action (instruction) is “carried forward” by a chain of four weqatals,

<sup>11</sup>I have divided conjunctive final constructions into two main groups. The first of these I will refer to as the לַמַּעַן yiqtol group. In this group the conjunction לַמַּעַן is followed by a finite verb (yiqtol) in the final sentence. The second major group will be referred to as the לַמַּעַן infinitive group, as the verbal form in the final sentence is an infinitive as opposed to a finite verb.

<sup>12</sup>3<sup>rd</sup> Person refers to the person for which the verb is marked (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, or 3<sup>rd</sup>). The verbal forms will be distinguished according to the verbal number, and each will be examined separately.

each having volitional force.<sup>13</sup> The weqatals are governed by the volitional form which introduces the chain. The final sentence is related to the “collective idea” expressed by the verbal chain. The final sentence is in non-contact position as it is separated from the verb which governs the matrix by a chain of weqatals.

Exodus 4:4-5

4 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה  
 שְׁלַח יָדְךָ  
 וְאַחֲזוּ בְּזַנְבֹּו  
 וַיִּשְׁלַח יָדוֹ  
 וַיַּחֲזֶק בּוֹ  
 וַיְהִי לַמָּטָה בְּכַפּוֹ:  
 5 לְמַעַן יֵאֱמִינוּ  
 כִּי-נִרְאָה אֵלַיךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתָם אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם  
 אֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק וְאֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב:

*Comment:* The first point of interest in this example is that the final sentence is in non-contact position. The imperatival construction שְׁלַח יָדְךָ is the governing verbal expression in the matrix. It is separated from its final sentence by a chain of wayyiqtol. This wayyiqtol chain describes the events that ensue following the “Aufforderung” in verse 3. Unlike the weqatals in the previous example, the wayyiqtol neither carry volitional force nor are governed by the matrix as the weqatals typified in the previous example. Rather, the wayyiqtol comment on the command given in the matrix and is co-ordinated to וַיֹּאמֶר in verse 4.

Durham (1987, 2) interpreted the final sentence as an independent sentence which draws a conclusion from the preceding. “On this account they will believe that Yahweh, the God of their fathers ... has appeared to you.” He further makes the comment that לְמַעַן here is the equivalent of ‘in the face of such evidence’. He does not indicate why such an interpretation

<sup>13</sup>This factor is what makes the form weqatal so unique in discourse. It is a continuation form. One should not simply speak of it, as some scholars do, as expressing mainline in discourse, although it can fulfil this function too. This, however, is not their primary function. Weqatal, as it is never chain initial, always places itself in the service of the verbal form which occupies the chain initial position, or the verbal form with which it is co-ordinated. This may, but might also not be, the immediately preceding verb.



of לְמַעַן is possible or even necessary, or if there are any other examples where לְמַעַן can be interpreted in a similar way. Noth (1962, 29) interprets לְמַעַן as an interpretive comment by the narrator. He puts the entire construction in italics “[ ... ‘that they may believe ...]” Noth correctly translated the construction as modal whereas Durham translated the English equivalent of the indicative. Both commentators do not seem to make much of the fact that לְמַעַן introduces a syntactically dependent sentences.<sup>14</sup>

The two examples above show two very contrasting specimens of type A constructions. In the first case the final sentence is sub-ordinated to a verbal chain consisting entirely of discourse. In the second example a combination of discourse and narrative separates the governing verbal expression from the final sentence. As noticed from other examples, it is often very difficult to determine where the actual chain starts which governs the matrix. Deuteronomy 11:8 serves as a very good example. In this example, the chain is introduced by an interrogative sentence which is found in the previous chapter (Deuteronomy 10:12).

The following are all examples of final constructions where the final sentence is in non-contact position. This construction is by far the most common in conjunctive final constructions, in contrast to conjunctionless final constructions where the contact construction is expected to be more common. Examples: Exodus 13:9, Numbers 27:20, Deuteronomy 5:14, 11:8, 11:21, 12 :25, 12:28, 13:38 14:29, 17:19, 22:7, 25:15, 31:12, Joshua 4:6, 1 Kings 2:4, 18:40, 8:43, Jeremiah 7:23, 32:14, 35:7, 36:3, 2 Chronicles 6:33, Ezekiel 4:11, 4:17.

<sup>14</sup>In general, I use secondary literature very sparingly. The examples show that commentaries mostly make exegetical decisions without necessarily indicating the syntactical features that would support or undergird those decisions.

#### 4.4.3.1.2 Type B: Contact Position - The Final Sentence is Dependent on a Single Verb/Sentence in the Matrix

Genesis 12:13

13 אָמַרְיִנָּא אַחֲרֵי אֵת  
לְמַעַן יֵיטֵב־לִי בְּעִבְרֵיךָ  
וְחִיתָה נַפְשִׁי בְּגִלְלֶךָ:

*Comment:* The above construction consists of a volition in the matrix, expressed by an imperative. The particle אַחֲרֵי indicates that the imperative expresses a request rather than a command. This final sentence and matrix are in contact position, which means the final sentence is juxtaposed with the matrix. There is a subject change between the main and the final sentence. The final sentence לְמַעַן יֵיטֵב־לִי is followed by a weqatal form וְחִיתָה. What is the syntactic status of this verb? Does the *waw* indicate co-ordination or sub-ordination? In either case to which verb is it co- or sub-ordinated?

There are two possibilities. Firstly, וְחִיתָה is co-ordinated with אָמַרְיִנָּא. In this analysis the final sentence לְמַעַן יֵיטֵב־לִי is thus imbedded as background information in the chain introduced by אָמַרְיִנָּא and completed by וְחִיתָה. In such an interpretation וְחִיתָה is therefore not co-ordinated with the conjunctive final sentence לְמַעַן יֵיטֵב־לִי.

A second possibility is to see weqatal as co-ordinated to the conjunctive final sentence לְמַעַן יֵיטֵב־לִי. Gross,<sup>15</sup> is of the opinion that, although weqatal cannot occupy the first position in a final sentence, it can be co-ordinated to it, and thus proceed or “carry forward” the initial final sentence. Such an interpretation will concord with the description of weqatal<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup>Personal communication. He asserts that such an interpretation, following the Vulgate, is common in “deutschen und im romanischen Sprachraum.”

<sup>16</sup>According to Joosten (1997, 58), “Weqatal is basically modal.” Compare also Joosten (1992, 1-14). I would be more careful with such a statement, however. As a continuation form, weqatal usually follows the modal forms, imperative, jussive and cohortative. As such, weqatal places itself at the service of the chain initial modal verb. Whether one can therefore conclude that the weqatal verbal form itself is a modal form, as Joosten does, is questionable.



as a continuation form in Chapter 3. Gross proposes that such sentences be translated “und dann” in German.

I would tend to support the second solution. Firstly as such an interpretation supports the notion of weqatal as a continuation form. This solution also presents a possibility for the Biblical Hebrew writer to distinguish between purpose and result in the “Nachsatz” of final constructions (See also Genesis 2:13). The second solution, however, would require a revision of an earlier hypothesis in which I, following Longacre, postulated. According to this view, weqatal only expresses “mainline” information in discourse.<sup>17</sup> Such an assumption would imply that weqatal cannot realize final sentences which, according to the thesis expressed in this study, convey background information. It therefore appears that weqatal as a continuation form is not restricted to the “mainline” but can also express background information.

One can thus read “Say you are my sister, that it may be well with me, and then my soul *will* live because of you.” There is a difference between the conjunctive final sentences וְחַיִּיתָ לְיָיָהּ and לְיָמַעַן יֵשְׁבֶה־לִּי. The difference is one of mood. The former expresses “realis”, definite result or consequence, the later “irrealis”, purpose or intended result, i.e., that it *may* go well ...”

The following examples all have the final sentence in contact position with the matrix. Exodus 16:32, 20:12, 23:12, Leviticus 23:43, Deuteronomy 5:16, 5:29, 23:21, 31:19, Joshua 4:5-6, 1 Kings 8:43, Ezekiel 12:16, Jeremiah 36:3.

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<sup>17</sup>Cf. section 3.3.4.

#### 4.4.3.1.3 Type C: Volition<sup>18</sup> in Matrix

These forms are recognized by some form of volition in the matrix. The volition can be an imperative, an imperative chain, an imperative continued by a weqatal chain, or an infinitive absolute.<sup>19</sup>

Habakkuk 2:2

2 וַיַּעֲנֵנִי יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר  
כָּתוּב חֲזוֹן  
וּבְאֵר עַל-הַלְחוֹת  
לְמַעַן יִרְוֶץ קוֹרֵא בוֹ:

*Comment:* Volition in this example is expressed by an imperative. This is followed by another syndetic imperative which continues the “Aufforderung”. There is a subject change between matrix and final sentence. The final sentence is in non-contact position. Considering the previous examples, a weqatal following the initial imperative would also be possible in the matrix (Numbers 27:18-20). On account of Habakkuk 2:2, it appears that weqatal could replace the imperative as the second element in the chain. How it will affect the function of the construction is unclear. There are not enough examples in the corpus to investigate a possible functional differentiation. Other examples: Genesis 12:13, Exodus 20:12, 23:12, Numbers 36:8, Deuteronomy 6:18.

Exodus 20:12

12 כִּבְדֹּת אֶת־אֲבִיךָ וְאֶת־אִמְךָ  
לְמַעַן יָאָרְכוֹן יְמֶיךָ עַל הָאָדָמָה  
אֲשֶׁר־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נָתַן לְךָ: 12

*Comment:* The volition in the matrix is realized by a single imperative. The final sentence is thus related to a matrix comprising a single verb unlike the previous example (Habakkuk 2:2). The final sentence is in contact position with its matrix. There is a subject change between the matrix and the final sentence. This construction is a good example of the difficulty inherent in

<sup>18</sup>I use the term volition for the German “Aufforderung”.



distinguishing between purpose and result in final constructions. Is the promise of long life the result of honoring of parents? Or is the goal of honoring parents that the obedient person might receive the promise? Both are true, depending on the perspective. On the basis of the example in Genesis 12:13 it would appear that one can differentiate syntactically between purpose and result. Constructions introduced by the final conjunctions express purpose. In this respect, it is well to heed the definition of Quirk et al. (1985, 1107-1108) that a purpose is an aimed at or desired result.<sup>20</sup> When the construction is continued or carried forward by weqatal, as in Genesis 12:13, the co-ordinated weqatal final sentence expresses a real result. It is my contention, to which I will return later, that in order to express co-ordinated purpose sentences, the Biblical Hebrew writer will use co-ordinated conjunctive final sentences. In this instance the writer has used weqatal instead, thereby expressing a result instead of another purpose sentence.

The distinction between intended result and real result is unfortunately not made in the Biblical Hebrew grammars.<sup>21</sup> The function of purpose, therefore, seems to be that which is syntactically expressed by the construction under discussion.

It seems that Durham (1987, 277) tried to solve the problem by producing a translation that attempts to indicate both purpose and result. "Give honor ... that you may surely prolong your days." The word "surely" is certainly redundant, unless it is an attempt to translate the certainty of the promise and, consequently, the result aspect of the construction.

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<sup>19</sup>There are more ways of realising volition in Biblical Hebrew. These are the only examples which I could find attested for in the matrix of יִּקְטֹל yiqtol final sentences.

<sup>20</sup>Quirk et al. (1985, 1107-1108).

<sup>21</sup>Cf. section 2.2.6.

#### 4.4.3.1.4 Type D: Non-Volitional Verbal Forms in the Matrix

##### (i) “Wish” in Matrix

Deuteronomy 5:29

29 מִי־יֵיתֵן  
וְהָיָה לְבָבְכֶם זֶה לָהֶם  
לִירְאָה אֹתִי וּלְשָׁמֹר אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתַי כָּל־הַיָּמִים  
לְמַעַן יִיטֵב לָהֶם וּלְבָנֵיהֶם לְעֹלָם

*Comment:* A wish, expressed by the construction מִי־יֵיתֵן, introduces the matrix. מִי־יֵיתֵן is followed by an object sentence introduced by weqatal, and the entire construction constitutes the matrix. The two infinitive constructions in the matrix describe the demonstrative pronoun זֶה and, as such, the content of the wish. The final sentence is in non-contact position.

Unfortunately, there are very few cases where the matrix is introduced by an interrogative in the corpus. The majority of these examples appear in conjunctionless final constructions and are discussed in greater depth in Chapter 5.

##### (ii) Hypothetical “When ... then ...” Sentences as Matrix

In these sentences a hypothetical situation, introduced by the conjunction, כִּי, is sketched. The reader is admonished to do something, after which a לְמַעַן construction concludes with a result, so that we have the following pattern:

When ... then ... so that. Two such examples are found in the book of Deuteronomy.

Deuteronomy 22:6-7

6 כִּי יִקְרָא קוֹן־צִפּוֹר לְפָנָיו בַּדֶּרֶךְ  
בְּכָל־עֵץ אוֹ עַל־הָאָרֶץ אֲפֹרֹתִים אוֹ בִיצִים  
וְהָאֵם רֹבֶצֶת עַל־הָאֲפֹרֹתִים אוֹ עַל־הַבִּיצִים  
לֹא־תִקַּח הָאֵם עַל־הַבָּנִים:  
7 שְׁלַח תִּשְׁלַח אֶת־הָאֵם  
וְאֶת־הַבָּנִים תִּקַּח־לָךְ  
לְמַעַן יִיטֵב לָךְ וְהָאֲרֶכֶת יָמִים: 8



*Comment:* In verse 4 the hypothetical “when” situation is introduced by כִּי. The “then” sentence starts with the negative “Aufforderung” (prohibitive) לֹא־תִקַּח followed by a positive “Aufforderung” שְׁלַח וְתִשְׁלַח. The final sentence is not only dependent on the immediately preceding volitions, but also on the entire “when” sentence and concludes it. Notice that the hypothetical situation is followed by an “Aufforderung”, which obedience results in the promise expressed in the final sentence.

Deuteronomy 24:19

19 כִּי תִקְצֹר קְצִירְךָ בַשָּׂדֶךְ וְשָׂכַחְתָּ  
עֹמֵר בַּשָּׂדֶה  
לֹא תָשׁוּב לְקַחְתּוֹ  
לְגֵר לִיתוֹם וְלֹא־לְמָנָה יִהְיֶה  
לְמַעַן יִבְרַכְךָ יְהוָה  
בְּכָל מַעֲשֵׂה יָדֶיךָ:

*Comment:* As in the previous sentence, the final sentence is not sub-ordinated to the immediately preceding volition, but to the entire idea expressed by the “when” construction, and again concludes the segment.

### (iii) “Jahweh Rede”<sup>22</sup> Final Constructions

In these construction types, of which most examples occur in Ezekiel, Isaiah and Exodus, Yahweh declares his intention after which follows a conjunctive לְמַעַן final sentence.

Ezekiel 4:16-17

16 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי בֶּן־אָדָם  
הִנְנִי שֹׁבֵר מִטַּה־לֶּחֶם בִּירוּשָׁלַם  
וְאֹכְלוֹ־לֶחֶם בַּמֶּשְׁקַל וּבִדְאָגָה  
וּמִים בַּמִּשְׁוֹרָה וּבְשִׁמְמוֹן יִשְׁתּוּ:

<sup>22</sup>I am aware that “Jahweh Rede” is not a syntactic category, but because this group displays definite features which distinguishes it from those mentioned, I include it as a separate category of final constructions.

17 לְמַעַן יַחְסְרוּ לָחֶם וְנָמִים  
וְנִשְׁמוּ אִישׁ וְאָחִיו  
וְנִמְקוּ בַּעֲוֹנָם: פ

*Comment:* The matrix is occupied by a “Jahweh Rede” where Yahweh sketches some future intention using various verbal sentences. The “Jahweh Rede” is introduced by a participle sentence, followed by a weqatal. The weqatal expresses the consequence of Jahweh’s action. The following verbal form יִשְׁחָדוּ is induced by the chiasitic construction. The final sentence introduced by לְמַעַן expresses the intended result or purpose of Jahweh’s action. See also Ezekiel 16:53-54 and Isaiah 41:20, 43:20, 43:26, 45:3, 45:5-6. These examples, however all have 2<sup>nd</sup> person verbal forms in the “Nachsatz”, and it would appear that in the “Jahweh Rede” final constructions, the addressees are directly affected by the “Jahweh Rede” in the matrix.

Significant about the syntax of “Jahweh Rede” constructions is that the matrix is governed by a participle sentence (see הִנְנִי שֹׁבֵר above) and as mentioned previously, the verbal form in the “Nachsatz” is mostly in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person. Compare also Exodus 8:18, 11:7, 16:4, Jeremiah 10:18 and Ezekiel 6:6, 12:16.

#### 4.4.3.1.5 Summary of the Syntactic Features of לְמַעַן Yiqtol (3<sup>rd</sup> Person) Final Sentences

- (i) Most common in the category לְמַעַן yiqtol 3<sup>rd</sup> person are the instances where the final לְמַעַן sentence is sub-ordinated to a preceding verbal chain. In such cases the final sentence is not syntactically sub-ordinated to its immediately preceding the verb (i.e., the last verb in the weqatal chain), but is governed by the chain initial verb, which is normally a volitional form. The “Nachsatz” is syntactically sub-ordinated to the verbal chain in the matrix. This verbal chain is introduced by an imperative (Numbers 15:40,



Habakkuk 2:2) and “carried forward” by consecutive weqatals, or even a second imperative as in Habakkuk 2:2.

- (ii) It is common in לִמְעַן yiqtol 3<sup>rd</sup> person final sentences to have a volitional form in the matrix, although a few special cases exist where there are no “Aufforderung” (Jeremiah 10:18, Ezekiel 6:6). Conjunctionless final constructions, as we shall see in Chapter 5, all have an “Aufforderung” in the matrix, and a comparison with conjunctive final constructions with “Aufforderung” in their matrix could therefore yield significant results. Should an “Aufforderung” be present in the matrix of both, it is my opinion that the semantic range and the syntactic construction differ.
- (iii) The conjunctive final constructions can be sub-ordinated to a single verb matrix as well as a matrix consisting of a verbal chain. Conjunctive final sentences can also express a final relation where there is no volition in the matrix (Deuteronomy 5:29). It is my contention that the above is not possible with conjunctionless constructions.
- (iv) It is worth noting that there is always a subject change between the matrix and the “Nachsatz” in conjunctive final constructions with 3<sup>rd</sup> person verbal forms in the “Nachsatz”.
- (v) A very important observation is that in cases where weqatal follows the לִמְעַן “Nachsatz”, I have suggested and attempted to illustrate that weqatal shows its character as a continuation form (see the discussion on Genesis 12:13 in section 4.4.3.1.2). I have, however, altered my earlier hypothesis (cf. 3.3.4) that weqatal expresses continuation only on “mainline” to include the possibility that weqatal convey continuation on the background information also. I have also distinguished the

two forms (i.e., **לְמַעַן** yiqtol followed by a consecutive weqatal) as syntactically expressing intended result (purpose) and real result or consequence respectively. I will return to this important aspect later in the discussion (section 4.4.3.2.6).

#### 4.4.3.2 **לְמַעַן** Yiqtol 2<sup>nd</sup> Person

Exodus 8:6, 8:18, 9:29, 10:1-2, 11:7, Numbers 15:40, Deuteronomy 4:1, 5:33, 6:2, 8:1, 11:8, 14:23, 16:3, 16:20, 29:5, 29:8, 30:19, Joshua 1:7, 1:8, 3:4, 1 Kings 2:3, Isaiah 23:16 (P), 43:10, 43:26, 45:3, 66:11, Jeremiah 4:14, 35:7, 44:29, Ezekiel 6:6, 16:54, 16:63, 25:10, 26:20, Psalm 48:14, 51:6, 68:24, 130:4, Amos 5:14, Job 19:29, 40:8, Proverbs 2:20, 19:20, Ezra 9:12, 1 Chronicles 28:8.

This category is unique to conjunctive final constructions and, in most cases, there is no subject change between the matrix and the final sentence. The categories (types) described in the Methodology in section 4.3 will again be employed. Additional types of constructions, unique to this category, will be added if necessary.

Like the examples with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, instances where **לְמַעַן** is followed by the 2<sup>nd</sup> person verbal form could either be syntactically sub-ordinated to a single verb, or to a verbal chain. However, the cases in which **לְמַעַן** is sub-ordinated to a verbal chain are less frequent than in those examples with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, where it seems to be the major usage. In contrast to examples of **לְמַעַן** yiqtol 3<sup>rd</sup> person, occurrences with “Aufforderung” in the matrix are also less numerous. The semantic range of **לְמַעַן** yiqtol 2<sup>nd</sup> person constructions are very small (i.e., the number of different verbs appearing in this construction are very few), with the verb **עָד** showing a high frequency, accounting for five cases from a total of twenty six. Below, I will list the same categories (sentence types) as mentioned above and supply each type with a



few examples to show that the syntactic constructions recognized for  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  yiqtol 3<sup>rd</sup> person are also valid for  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  yiqtol 2<sup>nd</sup> person constructions. The examples presented are not an exhaustive list, but are randomly selected cases. After the listing of the particular types, I will discuss some cases peculiar to  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  yiqtol 2<sup>nd</sup> person.

#### 4.4.3.2.1 Type A

Exodus 8:18, Numbers 15:40, Deuteronomy 6:18, 16:3, 29:5, 29:8, Ezra 9:12, Ezekiel 16:63.

Ezra 9:12

12 וְעַתָּה בְּנוֹתֵיכֶם אֶל־תִּתְּנוּ לְבָנֵיהֶם  
וּבְנֹתֵיהֶם אֶל־תִּשְׁאוּ לְבָנֵיכֶם  
וְלֹא־תִדְרְשׁוּ שְׁלָמָם וְטוֹבָתָם עַד־עוֹלָם  
לְמַעַן תִּחְזְקוּ  
וְאִכְלֹתֶם אֶת־טוֹב הָאָרֶץ  
וְהוֹרִשְׁתֶּם לְבָנֵיכֶם עַד־עוֹלָם:

*Comment:* A chain of prohibitions constitutes the matrix. The final sentence is in non-contact position. There is no subject change between the matrix and the final sentence. The conjunctive final sentence  $\text{לְמַעַן תִּחְזְקוּ}$  expresses purpose or intended result. The weqatals  $\text{וְאִכְלֹתֶם}$  and  $\text{וְהוֹרִשְׁתֶּם}$  following the final sentence express real result or consequence. A suitable translation is thus: “that you *may* be strong, and then you *will* eat the good of the land, and *will* leave it as an inheritance for your children forever.”

#### 4.4.3.2.2 Type B

Deuteronomy 4:1, 8:1, 16:20, 30:19, Amos 5:14.

Amos 5:14

14 דִּרְשׁוּ־טוֹב וְאַל־רָע  
לְמַעַן תַּחֲיוּ  
וְיִהְיֶיכֶן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי־צַבָּאוֹת אִתְּכֶם כְּאִשֶּׁר אָמַרְתֶּם:

*Comment:* The matrix is occupied by an imperative. The final sentence is in contact position with the matrix. There is no subject change between the matrix and the final sentence.

#### 4.4.3.2.3 Type C

Deuteronomy 4:1, 14:23, 16:20, 16:40, 30:19, Joshua 1:7-8, Jeremiah 35:7, Isaiah 23:16.

Joshua 1:7

7 רק חזק ואמץ מאד  
לשמר לעשות ככל־התורה אשר צוה משה עבדי  
אל־תסור ממנו ימין ושמאל  
למען תשכיל  
בכל אשר תלך:

*Comment:* The matrix is occupied by a negative “Aufforderung” אל־תסור. The matrix and the final sentence are in contact position. There is no subject change between the matrix and the final sentence.

#### 4.4.3.2.4 Type D

Exodus 8:6, 8:18, 10:2, Deuteronomy 6:2, 11:8, 30:19, 1 Kings 2:3, Isaiah 43:10, 43:26, 45:3, Jeremiah 44:29, Ezekiel 12:6, 16:54, 16:63, 26:20.

Exodus 8:6

6 ויאמר למחר  
ויאמר כדברך  
למען תדע כי־אין כִּיהָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ:

*Comment:* What constitutes the matrix of this construction? One possibility is that the verbal sentence כִּדְבָרְךָ constitutes the matrix. The form of this sentence is due to elipsis and could therefore be loosely be translated, “It will be as you have spoken” or “I will do as you have spoken.” There is subject change between the matrix and the final sentence. The final sentence is in contact position with the matrix. One could also translate the matrix with “as you wish” in English, i.e., “whichever way you prefer”, or “as long as the purpose is served”, i.e., that he (Pharaoh) might come to the realization that there is no one like Yahweh. This is the way it was interpreted by most translators e.g., the NRSV, “As you say!”, the NRV, “Be it



as you say”, the NIV “It may be as you say”. Childs (1974, 123) “Let it be as you say” and Durham (1987, 100) “Just as you say” also translated similarly.

Another possibility to be considered is to interpret the matrix as the speech introducing verb **וַיֹּאמֶר**. In this case the content of what was said is of secondary significance, i.e., “And he said ... in order that, you may know that there is no-one like Jahweh.” The final sentence in this understanding/interpretation expresses the purpose of **וַיֹּאמֶר**. Further investigation should be done, however, regarding the ways in which the speech introducing verb **וַיֹּאמֶר** is normally continued to justify the merit of the latter option. Secondly, there are no instances where **לְמַעַן** is sub-ordinated to wayyiqtol.

#### 4.4.3.2.5 Type E: Final Constructions With the Verb **יָדַע** in the “Nachsatz”

This category is unique to the conjunctive final construction **לְמַעַן** yiqtol 2<sup>nd</sup> person and occurs exclusively in the book of Exodus. The frequency of cases where **יָדַע** follows **לְמַעַן** in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person (either singular or plural) are high in this relatively small corpus. In all of these cases, **יָדַע** is followed by an “object” sentence introduced by **כִּי** and in one instance, by **אֲשֶׁר**. A similar construction is attested in Ezekiel, which, however, is expressed with weqatal without **לְמַעַן**.

Exodus 11:4-7

4 וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה  
כַּחֲצֹת הַלַּיְלָה אֲנִי יוֹצֵא בְּתוֹךְ מִצְרַיִם:  
5 וּמֵת כָּל-בְּכוֹר בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם  
מִבְּכוֹר פַּרְעֹה הַיֹּשֵׁב עַל-כִּסְאוֹ  
עַד בְּכוֹר הַשֹּׁפְחָה אֲשֶׁר אַחֲרֵי הָרְחִים וְכָל בְּכוֹר בְּהֵמָה  
6 וְהָיְתָה צַעֲקָה גְדֹלָה בְּכָל-אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם  
אֲשֶׁר כָּמָהוּ לֹא נִהְיְתָה  
וְכָמָהוּ לֹא תִסָּף:  
7 וּלְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא יִחְרֹץ-כֶּלֶב לְשׁוֹנוֹ לְמַאִישׁ וְעַד-בְּהֵמָה  
לְמַעַן תִּדְעוּן אֲשֶׁר יִפְלֶה יְהוָה בֵּין מִצְרַיִם וּבֵין יִשְׂרָאֵל

*Comment:* In this final construction the matrix consists of a speech by Yahweh. The speech is introduced by a temporal reference **כַּחֲצֹת הַלַּיְלָה**, followed by a participial sentence.

**אֲנִי יוֹצֵא בְּתוֹךְ מִצְרַיִם:** which, in turn, is succeeded by a chain of weqatals. The matrix/final construction is thus in non-contact position. There is a subject change between the matrix and the “Nachsatz”. The final sentence is followed by an object sentence introduced by **אֲשֶׁר**. Notice that Yahweh is spoken of in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person in the final sentence. although Yahweh is the subject of the matrix. Does Yahweh speak of himself in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person or should the final sentence be understood as a comment by the narrator? Although there are many cases of the former in Biblical Hebrew,<sup>23</sup> the latter option seems more plausible in this case. By utilizing this construction the writer enables the narrator to momentarily halt the narration and to provide the reader with additional information. I have devoted a separate category to such constructions expressing “Narrative comment” in 4.3.2 to which I will return later. An alternative option would be to interpret the conjunctive final sentence as syntactically dependent on the speech introducing verb **וַיֹּאמֶר**. I have, however, earlier expressed the merits and demerits of such an option and spelled out my reservations about such a possibility (See the discussion on Exodus 8:6, section 4.4.3.2.4).

Exodus 8:5-6

5 וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה לַפְּרֹעֶה  
הִתְפָּאֵר עָלַי לְמַתִּי  
אֶעֱתִיר לָךְ וְלַעֲבָדֶיךָ וְלַעֲמָךְ  
לְהַכְרִית הַצְּפֹרְדִּים מִמֶּךָּ וּמִבְּתֶיךָ  
רַק בִּיֹאֵר תִּשְׁאָרְנָה:  
6 וַיֹּאמֶר לְמַחֵר וַיֹּאמֶר כְּדָבָרְךָ  
לְמַעַן תִּדַּע כִּי־אֵין כִּי־הוּא אֱלֹהֵינוּ:

<sup>23</sup>Cf. Genesis 18:19.



*Comment:* There is no subject change between the matrix and the final sentence. The final sentence is followed by an object sentence introduced by כִּי. The final sentence, like the previous one, expresses the purpose of the intended action, i.e., “that you may know ...”

Other examples: Exodus 8:18, 9:29, Deuteronomy 29:5, Jeremiah 44:29.

Similar constructions in the book of Ezekiel demand closer scrutiny.

Ezekiel 12:14-15

14 וְכָל אֲשֶׁר סָבִיבָתִּי עֶזְרוּ  
וְכָל־אֲנָפִי אֶזְרָה  
לְכָל־רוּחַ וְחָרָב  
אֶרִיק אַחֲרֵיהֶם:  
15 וְיָדַעְנוּ כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה  
בַּהֲפִיצִי אוֹתָם בַּגּוֹיִם וְיָרִיתִי אוֹתָם בְּאֶרְצוֹת:

*Comment:* Observe that the לְמַעַן is omitted and the verbal form is weqatal and not yiqtol. The function of these sentences are also clearly that of result. Do we have here a later version of the same construction where לְמַעַן has become redundant? This seems unlikely as the use of לְמַעַן is quite common in Ezekiel (see Ezekiel 4:17, 6:6, 12:16, 12:20, 14:5, 14:11, 16:63, 24:27, 25:7, 25:11, etc.). This example should be seen in the light of the fact that the language used in Ezra and, Ezekiel in particular, have often been categorised as “late” Hebrew. These Books are characterised by somewhat “eccentric”<sup>24</sup> language use when compared with the Hebrew found in the rest of the Hebrew Bible.

A possible difference between the two constructions could be that of mood. With the construction in Ezekiel the writer uses weqatal, and thus shows a definite result, i.e., “and you *will* know.” The cases with לְמַעַן yiqtol express the realm of the possibility or probability therefore ... that you *may/might* know. The writer, therefore, deliberately chooses this

<sup>24</sup>Cf. Greenberg (1997, 395). On the book jacket Greenberg is commended for capturing in English the “richness and subtleties of the problematic Hebrew original.”

particular construction in Ezekiel to express a definite result or consequence. In support, my earlier suggestion is apt, viz., that conjunctive final sentences is used by the Hebrew writer to express purpose or intended result, whereas secondary weqatal final sentences (i.e., those final sentences co-ordinated to conjunctive final sentences, e.g., Genesis 12:13, Ezra 9:12) express real result.

#### 4.4.3.2.6 Excursion: The Sequence $\text{למען}$ Yiqtol + Weqatal

Although I have discussed similar examples previously in the treatment of individual cases (e.g., Genesis 12:13, Ezra 9:12), I will now give special attention to this phenomenon, because I consider these constructions of great importance to the current investigation.

In the book of Deuteronomy, in particular, there seems to be a very special usage of weqatal following  $\text{למען}$  final sentences. In quite a few cases the  $\text{למען}$  final sentence is followed by a weqatal chain. I have already briefly expressed my opinion about such cases (see Exodus 11:4-7), but will now discuss it in more detail. I have suggested that in such cases the weqatal chain is co-ordinated with the  $\text{למען}$  yiqtol final sentence. It would mean, syntactically, that the weqatal chain expresses co-ordinated final sentences following  $\text{למען}$  yiqtol. Consequently, they would also be sub-ordinated to the matrix. Weqatal, as a continuation form, never occupies the first position in the conjunctive final chain (it is not possible, as the verbal form following a conjunction is always asyndetic). However, it can be co-ordinated to a final sentence and, therefore, serves as a consecutive final sentence after the initial  $\text{למען}$  yiqtol construction.

I have hypothesized in Chapter 3 that weqatal, because of its function as mainline verbal form in discourse, does not occur in sub-ordinated sentences. Notwithstanding, these examples indicate that it is a fallacy to restrict weqatal to purely mainline information. In its function as



a continuation form, it can continue a verbal form and thus build a chain, both in mainline and in non-mainline discourse. Hence, the contention that weqatal does not occur in sub-ordinated sentences is only true insofar as weqatal never introduces sub-ordinated sentences (just as it does not occur in chain-initial position in mainline). However, it can be co-ordinated to a sub-ordinated sentence.

The construction under discussion occurs either episode final (i.e., concluding a particular episode, e.g., Deuteronomy 5:33), or episode initial (introducing a particular episode, e.g., Deuteronomy 4:1). A good example to start with is Deuteronomy 8:1 in which the conjunctive final sentence is followed by a chain of weqatals.

Deuteronomy 8:1

8 כָּל־הַמִּצְוָה אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי מְצַוֶּה הַיּוֹם  
 תִּשְׁמְרוּן לַעֲשׂוֹת  
 לְמַעַן תַּחֲיִין  
 וּרְבִיתֶם  
 וּבִאתֶם  
 וִירִשְׁתֶּם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ  
 אֲשֶׁר־נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה לְאֲבֹתֵיכֶם:

*Comment:* The above type of construction is quite common in Deuteronomy. The matrix contains an “Aufforderung”. The final sentence is followed by a weqatal chain. How is this to be interpreted? In such cases with weqatal, the emphasis in the final sentence is on the purpose of the action/speech and the weqatal chain expresses the consequence or result of the action that proceeds from the “Aufforderung” in the matrix. I have earlier suggested that there is also a difference in mood in the two constructions. The conjunctive final sentence is modal (therefore in the English translation one should always translate with an auxiliary verb can/could, may/might, etc.). The weqatal is indicative and thus expresses a real result.

The weqatal chain introduced by וַיְרַבִּיחֻם is co-ordinated to the preceding final sentence. It proceeds the chain governed by לַעֲשׂוֹת in the matrix. The conjunctive final sentence לָמַעַן תַּחֲיֶיךָ, therefore, occupies the initial position in the chain, and is proceeded by the three syndetic weqatals. Whereas the final sentence expresses the purpose of the governing verb, the weqatal chain expresses results or consequences. An appropriate translation that indicates the difference would thus be: "... that you *may* live, and then you *will* multiply, enter and inherit ..."

Other examples: Numbers 15:40, 5:33, (the word order in the matrix is reversed). Cf. Deuteronomy 11:8, 16:20, Ezra 9:12)

Deuteronomy 4:1

1 וַעֲתָה יִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁמַע אֶל-הַחֻקִּים וְאֶל-הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים  
אֲשֶׁר אֲנֹכִי מְלַמֵּד אֶתְכֶם לַעֲשׂוֹת  
לָמַעַן תַּחֲיֶיךָ  
וּבְאַתָּם  
וְיִרְשֶׁתֶם אֶת-הָאָרֶץ  
אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתֵיכֶם נָתַן לָכֶם:

*Comment:* In this example the matrix does not consist of a verbal chain, but of a single verb "Aufforderung". The matrix and the final sentence are thus in contact position. Notice that there is no subject change between the matrix and the "Nachsatz". The "Nachsatz" לָמַעַן תַּחֲיֶיךָ expresses a purpose and the following weqatal chain result. As in the previous example, the weqatal chain, וּבְאַתָּם וְיִרְשֶׁתֶם, is also sub-ordinated to the main sentence introduced by the imperative שְׁמַע. Whereas the לָמַעַן final sentence should be translated as modal, the following weqatal chain is indicative, i.e., "listen to the ... that you *may* live, and then you *will* enter and *will* take possession of the land. I need to reiterate that the basic assumption of



this study, expressed in Chapter 3 (and modified in this chapter), is that weqatal is a continuation form and, as such, can continue a mainline as well as a sub-ordinated sentence.

Deuteronomy 6:17-18

17 שְׁמֹר תִּשְׁמְרוּן אֶת־מִצְוֹת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם  
וְעִדְתִּיו וְחֻקֵּיו אֲשֶׁר צִוְּךָ:  
18 וְעָשִׂיתָ הַיָּשָׁר וְהַטּוֹב בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה  
לְמַעַן יִיטֵב לָךְ  
וּבָאתָ  
וִירָשָׁתָּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַטֹּבָה  
אֲשֶׁר־נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה לְאַבְרָהָם:

*Comment:* The “Aufforderung” in the matrix is expressed by the construction שְׁמֹר תִּשְׁמְרוּן (See also Deuteronomy 14:23, 22:7). This construction is carried forward by the weqatal וְעָשִׂיתָ. The weqatals וּבָאתָ and וִירָשָׁתָּ following the final sentence signify the consequence of the volition שְׁמֹר תִּשְׁמְרוּן whereas the final sentence לְמַעַן יִיטֵב לָךְ expresses the purpose.

In all the examples discussed so far, the final sentence is followed by weqatal verbal forms. There are, however, two examples where the final sentence is succeeded by a yiqtol chain. How shall this construction be interpreted? The examples are found in Isaiah 41:20 and Ezekiel 6:6.

Isaiah 41:19-20

19 אֶתֶּן בַּמִּדְבָּר אֲרֵז שֹׁטֶה וְהָדָם  
וְעֵץ שָׁמֶן אֲשִׁים בְּעֶרְבָה  
בְּרוֹשׁ תִּדְהָר וּתְאֲשֹׁר יַחְדָּו:  
20 לְמַעַן יֵרְאוּ  
וַיִּדְעוּ  
וַיִּשְׁימוּ  
וַיִּשְׁכִּילוּ יַחְדָּו  
כִּי יִדְּיָהוּהָ עָשְׂתָה זֹאת  
וּקְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל בִּרְאָהּ: פ

*Comment:* Unlike in the previous examples, the final sentence **וְיָרְאוּ לְמַעַן יִרְאוּ** is followed by a yiqtol chain (all syndetic). The RSV translated the chain as co-ordinated final sentences, “*that men may see and know, may consider and understand together ...*” The weyiqtol chain is, therefore, dependent on the matrix introduced by **אֲתָן**. I fully support such an interpretation of the above construction as captured by the translation. The co-ordinated yiqtol chain expresses purpose, and are all modal, which is indicated by the RSV translation.

Ezekiel 6:6

6 בְּכָל מוֹשְׁבוֹתֵיכֶם הָעָרִים תִּחָרְבֵנָה  
וְהַבְּמוֹת תִּשְׁמָנָה  
לְמַעַן יִחָרְבוּ  
וַיֵּאָשְׁמוּ מִזִּבְחוֹתֵיכֶם  
וְנִשְׁבְּרוּ  
וְנִשְׁבְּתוּ גְלוּלֵיכֶם  
וְנִגְדְּעוּ חֲמֻנֵיכֶם  
וְנִמְחֶה מַעֲשֵׂיכֶם:

*Comment:* This construction deserves attention as it contains a combination of all the examples discussed previously. Firstly, it presents a matrix consisting of the yiqtol verbs **תִּחָרְבֵנָה** and **תִּשְׁמָנָה**. The “Nachsatz” consists of the co-ordinated final sentences **לְמַעַן יִחָרְבוּ וַיֵּאָשְׁמוּ מִזִּבְחוֹתֵיכֶם**. The final conjunction is followed by two co-ordinated yiqtol verbal forms both expressing purpose. A similar construction (where consecutive yiqtols follow the final conjunction) appears also in Isaiah 41:19-20 (see previous example). . In similar constructions in other books the conjunction would be repeated before the second yiqtol (See Exodus 9:16, Deuteronomy 4:40 and Deuteronomy 31:12).

The co-ordinated final sentences are followed by a co-ordinated weqatal chain. All these (both yiqtol and weqatal), in turn, constitute the “Nachsatz”. I have previously suggested that the change in verbal form in the “Nachsatz” represents a change of meaning, i.e., intended result



or purpose (yiqtol) and real result (weqatal) as well as a change of mood. The **לִּמְעַן** yiqtol indicating possibility or probability whereas weqatal expresses the indicative mood and, therefore reality.

Gross (1974, 188) also identified similar examples with the verbal form yiqtol following the modal **אִלּוּ**. The corpus is very small, so that it is difficult to draw a final conclusion.

#### 4.4.3.2.7 Summary of Syntactic Features of **לִּמְעַן** Yiqtol 2<sup>nd</sup> Person Final Sentences

- (i) In most of these cases, there is no subject change between the matrix and “Nachsatz”.
- (ii) It is my suspicion at this stage that examples with 2<sup>nd</sup> person verbal forms in the “Nachsatz” are exclusive to the conjunctive final constructions and one would therefore not find such cases in conjunctionless constructions (see the next chapter).
- (iii) Syntactically, most of these final sentences close the chain introduced in the matrix (Ezra 9:12). However, in some examples the chain is continued by weqatal verbal forms following the final sentence. In such cases the weqatal verbal form is co-ordinated with the immediately preceding conjunctive final sentence (and therefore also governed by the final conjunction) and expresses real result or consequence (Deuteronomy 4:1).
- (iv) The foregoing discussion seems to corroborate my contention that weqatal in discourse is a continuation verbal form. As such, it does not introduce sub-ordinated sentences but can be co-ordinated to them. There is also the difference in mood in these cases. I believe that the conjunctive final sentence is modal and the following weqatal indicative (Deuteronomy 8:1).

- (v) In the entire corpus there are only two examples where the final sentence is followed by a weyiqtol chain (Isaiah 41:20, Ezekiel 6:6) instead of the expected weqatal. I have interpreted this weyiqtol chain as consecutive final sentences following the conjunctive final sentence. These two cases are very unusual and present an exception. I will show later that, with co-ordinated yiqtol final sentences, the final conjunction is normally repeated immediately preceding the subsequent co-ordinated yiqtols. I will return to co-ordination of final sentences in section 4.6.

#### 4.4.3.3 לִמְעַן Yiqtol 1<sup>st</sup> Person

These constructions are atypical for conjunctive final sentences as 1<sup>st</sup> person forms are more common with conjunctionless final sentences (see the next chapter). There are only 12 cases conjunctive of yiqtol 1<sup>st</sup> person cases altogether, of which 50% occur in poetic texts. Whereas the categories described in section 4.3 above could also be applied for the לִמְעַן 1<sup>st</sup> person cases, I will not dwell on it here but make only those observations specific to 1<sup>st</sup> person conjunctive final sentences with לִמְעַן.

I will argue and show, in the examples below, that in all the cases לִמְעַן 1<sup>st</sup> person is only used when the nuance which the writer wishes to express cannot be achieved with the conjunctionless sentences. I reiterate my earlier contention that 1<sup>st</sup> person final sentences are realized primarily with conjunctionless constructions as we shall see in Chapter 5. In the following discussion, I will describe the conditions that are necessary for לִמְעַן 1<sup>st</sup> person conjunctive sentence to be realized.

##### 4.4.3.3.1 Final Constructions with no Volition in the Matrix



It will be illustrated in the next chapter that, for a conjunctionless final relation to be realized, a volition (expressed by an imperative) or an interrogative sentence in the matrix is compulsory. The example provided contains no volition in the matrix. The subject of the final verb is 1<sup>st</sup> person singular. Because there is no volition in the matrix, the writer has to use the conjunction **לְמַעַן** in the final sentence.

Examples: Exodus 16:4, Ezekiel 20:26, Nehemiah 6:13.

Exodus 16:4

4 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה  
הִנְנִי מִמְטִיר לָכֶם לֶחֶם מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם  
וַיֵּצֵא הָעָם  
וַלְקֻטּוֹ דְּבַר־יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ  
לְמַעַן אֲנֹסְנוּ הַיֶּלֶךְ בְּתוֹרָתִי אִם־לֹא:

*Comment:* There is a very specific reason why **לְמַעַן** has to be used in the “Nachsatz” instead of the conjunctionless weyiqtol construction. The reason is simply that there is no volition in the matrix, which precludes using a conjunctionless construction. The matrix consists of a “Jahweh Rede” introduced by a participial sentence. The matrix and the final sentence is in non-contact position and there is no subject change between the matrix and the final sentence.

See also 2 Samuel 13:5 below.

#### 4.4.3.3.2 Constructions with a Verbal Chain in the Matrix

2 Samuel 13:5, Exodus 16:4.

2 Samuel 13:5

5 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ יְהוֹנָדָב שָׁכֵב עַל־מִשְׁכַּבְּךָ וְהִתְחַל  
וּבֹא אֲבִיךָ לְרֹאוֹתְךָ וְאָמַרְתָּ אֵלָיו  
תָּבֹא נָא תִמְרָ אֲחוֹתִי  
וְתִבְרַנִּי לֶחֶם  
וְעָשְׂתָה לְעֵינַי אֶת־הַבְּרִיָּה  
לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר אֶרְאֶה

וְאָכַלְתִּי מִיָּדָה:

*Comment:* The volition in the matrix **נָא תֵבֵא** is followed by a verbal chain, consisting of another weyiqtol and a weqatal verbal form. Such a volitional chain demands a conjunctive **לְמַעַן** construction in the final sentence as weyiqtol (i.e., the conjunctionless construction) is always final to an immediately preceding volitional (expressed by an imperative) or interrogative sentence (never a verbal chain constituting differing verbal forms as is the case here). Notice that there is a subject change between the matrix and the final sentence, and the two elements are in non-contact position. The co-ordinated final sentences are constituted firstly by the conjunctive final sentence **אֲשֶׁר אֶרְאֶה לְמַעַן**<sup>25</sup> expressing purpose “that I may see”. This is followed by co-ordinated weqatal final sentence **וְאָכַלְתִּי מִיָּדָה** expressing result or consequence “and then, (after which) I will eat ...”

#### 4.4.3.3.3 Constructions Where the Matrix of a Final Sentence with **לְמַעַן** Include an Immediately Preceding Conjunctionless or Conjunctive Final Sentence

Genesis 27:5, Exodus 33:13, Nehemiah 6:13

Exodus 33:13

13 וְעַתָּה אֵם־נָא מִצָּאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ  
הוֹדַעְנִי נָא אֶת־דֶּרֶכְךָ  
וְאֶדְעֶךָ  
לְמַעַן אֶמְצָא־חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ  
וְרָאִהָ כִּי עֹמֵד הַגּוֹי הַזֶּה:

*Comment:* Two constructions each expressing a final relation, immediately follow one another. The first is a conjunctionless final sentence **הוֹדַעְנִי נָא** with a volitional form **נָא** in the matrix. The second is a conjunctive final sentence and consists of the conjunction **לְמַעַן** followed by a 1<sup>st</sup> person yiqtol **אֶמְצָא** (This 1<sup>st</sup> person form is the morphological short form where the long form, cohortative, would have been the expected form). The second final

<sup>25</sup>The examples with **אֲשֶׁר לְמַעַן** will be discussed in section 4.4.3.4.



construction is an asyndetic conjunctive final sentence  $\text{לְמַעַן אֲמַצְאֶחֶן בְּעֵינַי} \text{ } \text{וְאֶדְרֹעַ}$  which is not co-ordinated to the first conjunctionless final sentence  $\text{וְאֶדְרֹעַ}$ , but consecutive to it. This means that the preceding, including the conjunctionless final sentence  $\text{וְאֶדְרֹעַ}$  constitutes the matrix of the second final sentence which “Nachsatz” is  $\text{לְמַעַן אֲמַצְאֶחֶן בְּעֵינַי}$ .

#### 4.4.3.3.4 Summary of Syntactic Features of $\text{לְמַעַן}$ Yiqtol 1<sup>st</sup> Person Final Sentences

I hope to show in Chapter 5 that the 1<sup>st</sup> person final sentences belong to the domain of the conjunctionless final construction.

- (i) I have tried to argue here however, that sometimes the story demands a construction which is syntactically not attainable with the conjunctionless final constructions. There are two such constructions.
  - (a) Constructions which require a 1st person verbal form in the “Nachsatz” but have no Volition in the matrix (Exodus 16:4).
  - (b) Consecutive final sentences of which the first final construction (“Vordersatz” and “Nachsatz”) serves as matrix for the second final sentence introduced (Exodus 33:13).
- (ii) Although the above appears to support my earlier contention that the range of  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  final constructions is far greater than the conjunctionless final constructions, such an assumption can only be vindicated once the conjunctionless final constructions have been investigated in Chapter 5.
- (iii) It is also my contention at this stage that, in cases where there are overlap between the conjunctive and the conjunctionless final sentences, (like the 3<sup>rd</sup> person for example), the groups will nevertheless cover different syntactic constructions. Again

clarity on this issue is subject to the investigation of conjunctionless final constructions in the next chapter.

#### 4.4.3.4 “Irregular” לַמַּעַן Yiqtol Constructions

There are a few constructions with לַמַּעַן yiqtol which seem to deviate from the norm described above. In the following discussion I will elaborate on these cases. Constructions which have אֲשֶׁר לַמַּעַן or אֲשֶׁר in the “Nachsatz” are typical examples. Examples: Genesis 18:19, Genesis 27:10, Leviticus 17:5, Deuteronomy 27:3, Joshua 3:4, 2 Samuel 13:5, Jeremiah 42:6, Ezekiel 20:26.

There are some cases where לַמַּעַן is followed by the relative אֲשֶׁר without seemingly changing the meaning or supplying a special nuance to the final sentence. Such cases are always followed by finite verb yiqtol and never by the infinitive. The matrix is occupied by both volitional (Genesis 27:10) and non-volitional forms (Genesis 18:19), and the final sentence is governed by both a single verb (Genesis 18:19) as well as a verbal chain (Genesis 27:3). There are examples, though not treated in this corpus, where the relative אֲשֶׁר functions as an final conjunction in the same way as לַמַּעַן (See Deuteronomy 6:2-3).<sup>26</sup>

Deuteronomy 27:2-3

2 וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲבְרוּ אֶת-הַיַּרְדֵּן אֶל-הָאָרֶץ  
אֲשֶׁר-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיךָ נָתַן לָךְ  
וְהִקְמַתָּ לָךְ אֲבָנִים גְּדֵלוֹת  
וְשָׂדַת אַתָּם בְּשִׁיד:  
3 וְכָתַבְתָּ עָלֵיהֶן אֶת-כָּל-דִּבְרֵי הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת בְּעֵבֶרֶךָ  
לַמַּעַן אֲשֶׁר תָּבֹא אֶל-הָאָרֶץ  
אֲשֶׁר-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיךָ נָתַן לָךְ אֶרֶץ זָבַת חֶלֶב וְדָבָשׁ  
כֹּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי-אַבְרָהָם לָךְ:

<sup>26</sup>Cf. also the discussion on co-ordinated final constructions in section 4.6.



*Comment:* The matrix and the “Nachsatz” is in non-contact position and there is a subject change between the matrix and the final sentence. אֲשֶׁר does not seem to affect the meaning of the sentence at all. Even if אֲשֶׁר should be omitted, it appears the sentence would still be the same.<sup>27</sup>

#### 4.4.4 לְמַעַן Infinitive

Genesis 18:19, 37:22, 50:20, Exodus 1:11, 9:16, 10:1, 11:9, Leviticus 20:3, Deuteronomy 2:30, 6:23, 8:2, 8:3, 8:16, 8:18, 9:5, 17:16, 29:12, 29:18, Joshua 4:24, 11:20, Judges 2:22, 3:1, 1 Samuel 15:14, 17:28, 1 Kings 8:60, 11:36, 12:15, 2 Kings 10:19, 22:17, 23:24, Isaiah 30:1, Jeremiah 7:10, 7:18, 7:19, 11:5, 25:7, 27:10, 27:15, 32:29, 32:35, 43:3, 44:8, 50:34, Ezekiel 14:5, 21:15, 21:20, 21:33, 22:6, 22:9, 22:12, 22:27, 38:16, 39:12, 40:4, Joel 4:6, Amos 1:13, 2:7, Micah 6:5, 6:16, Habakkuk 2:15, Zechariah 13:4, Proverbs 15:24, Nehemiah 6:13, 2 Chronicles 10:15, 25:20, 34:25.

The לְמַעַן infinitive cases comprise the second major group of conjunctive final constructions. As the name suggests, the final sentence is constituted by the conjunction לְמַעַן followed by an infinitive. I will attempt to demonstrate in the following discussion that most of these constructions, unlike the לְמַעַן yiqtol discussed in the preceding section, show no subject change between the matrix and the final sentence so that it can be translated “in order to” or “um zu” in German. The subject of the matrix, in such instances, is also the subject of the final sentence. I will also attempt to show that these cases mostly express purpose, the final sentence conveying the “Aussage Absicht”, or simply the “Absicht.”

<sup>27</sup>It must be pointed out, however, that the verb בּוֹא never occurs after לְמַעַן in finite form. The verb בּוֹא occurs in three other texts in conjunctive final sentences, i.e., Genesis 18:19 and Deuteronomy 6:23 as hifil infinitives, and Leviticus 17:5, preceded by אֲשֶׁר, though. It could well be that the unique use of לְמַעַן followed by the relative is induced by the verb בּוֹא, but one should be careful with such a few proof texts.

לַמַּעַן infinitive appear almost exclusively in prose text, without a single occurrence in poetry (though לַמַּעַן yiqtol sentences are quite common in the Psalms). Even in those books with a great percentage of poetic texts, like Isaiah and Ezekiel, the instances are mainly in the prose sections of the corpus.

The four categories identified, i.e., Type A: Non-contact position, Type B: Contact position, Type C: Volitional, Type D: Non-volitional can all be attested for in לַמַּעַן infinitive cases. The examples of לַמַּעַן infinitive final constructions distinguish themselves from those discussed previously, however, in that there are relatively few instances where the matrix consists of a volitional verbal form, which means that Type D is very common and, Type C, though attested for, occurs less frequently. The majority of the לַמַּעַן infinitive sentences are also not sub-ordinated to a preceding verbal chain, but to an immediately preceding single verb sentence. Most of these constructions are therefore in contact position with their governing verbs. Consequently Type B constructions would appear to be the “rule”, with Type A the “exception.”

Because I have dealt to some extent with the four categories in the foregoing discussion of לַמַּעַן yiqtol constructions, the above observation that these categories are also attested for in לַמַּעַן infinitive constructions should suffice. I will accordingly focus on categories specific to לַמַּעַן infinitive (I have mentioned earlier that I do not consider these categories as conclusive, and that I will add to it if the need arises).

#### 4.4.4.1 Type F:<sup>28</sup> Purpose Sentences

<sup>28</sup>Type E is restricted to לַמַּעַן yiqtol 2<sup>nd</sup> person.



In all of these instances לְמַעַן is followed by an infinitive and there is no subject change between the matrix and the final sentence. These cases are always translated “um zu”, in German and “in order to” in English. I will attempt to show that in such final sentences the function purpose, rather than result, seems to be primary. They occur in both narrative and discourse and express the “Aussage Absicht.”

Genesis 50:20

20 וְאַתֶּם חֲשַׁבְתֶּם עָלַי רָעָה  
אֱלֹהִים חֲשַׁבָה לְטוֹבָה  
לְמַעַן עֲשֶׂה כִּיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְהַחְיִית עַם־רַב:

*Comment:* The matrix consists of a qatal form of the verb. There is no subject change between the matrix (or at least the immediately preceding verb) and the final verb. There is also no volitional form in the matrix. The final sentence is in contact position. The final sentence expresses purpose, which could be a result of the lack of subject change between the matrix and the “Nachsatz”.

2 Kings 10:19

19 וַעֲתָה כָּל־נְבִיאֵי הַבַּעַל כָּל־עַבְדָּיו וְכָל־כַּהֲנָיו  
קָרְאוּ אֵלַי  
אִישׁ אֶל־יָפְקֹד  
כִּי זָבַח גָּדוֹל לִי לַבַּעַל  
כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־יָפְקֹד  
לֹא יָחִיָּה  
וַיְהִי וַעֲשֶׂה בְעֶקֶבָה  
לְמַעַן הָאֲבִיד אֶת־עַבְדֵי הַבַּעַל

*Comment:* The narrative changes from direct speech to a comment by the narrator to give the reader an insight into the intentions of Jehu. The matrix contains a qatal verbal form, and no “Aufforderung”. There is no subject change between the matrix and the “Nachsatz” and the two are in contact position.

Exodus 1:11

11 וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ עָלָיו שְׂרָי מַסִּים  
 לְמַעַן עֲנֹתוּ בְּסִבְלָתָם  
 וַיִּבֶן עָרֵי מִסְכְּנוֹת לְפָרְעָה אֶת־פָּתָחַם וְאֶת־רַעְמִסָּם:

*Comment:* The significance of this example is the fact that the final sentence is imbedded in a narrative wayyiqtol chain. There is no “Aufforderung” in the matrix, as the matrix is occupied by a wayyiqtol verbal form. The chain continues with another wayyiqtol verbal form וַיִּבֶן after the final sentence. The matrix and final sentence are in contact position. This construction is peculiar to the infinitival final constructions as the conjunctionless final constructions are restricted to direct speech, and the לְמַעַן yiqtol constructions occur almost exclusively in discourse.

Other examples of type F purpose sentences are: Exodus 10:1, 11:9, Deuteronomy 2:30, 6:23, 8:2, 17:16, 29:12, Judges 2:22, 1 Samuel 15:15, 17:28, 1 Kings 8:60, 11:36, 12:15, Jeremiah 7:18, 25:7, 27:10, 43:3, 50:34, Ezekiel 14:5, 22:6, 22:9, 22:12, 22:27, 39:12, 40:4, Amos 1:13, Micah 6:5, Habakkuk 2:15, Zechariah 4:12.

#### 4.4.4.2 Type G: Narrative Comment

A final construction peculiar to לְמַעַן infinitive constructions deserves attention. I will refer to this construction as narrative comment. It occurs under the following circumstances: After a narration of events or a statement in direct speech, the narrator supplies the reader with insight into the motive/intention of the speaker or actor. This comment stands outside the story line and is directed at the reader. It is difficult to define the syntactic relation of this sentence as it does not appear to be dependent on the previous sentence and seems, in a sense, syntactically independent.

Genesis 18:19



לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר יִצְוֶה אֶת־בְּנָיו וְאֶת־בֵּיתוֹ אַחֲרָיו  
 וְשָׁמְרוּ דֶרֶךְ יְהוָה  
 לַעֲשׂוֹת צְדָקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט  
 לְמַעַן הָבִיא יְהוָה עַל־אֲבֹרָתָם  
 אֶת אֲשֶׁר־דִּבֶּר עֲלֵיו:

*Comment:* The second לְמַעַן infinitive construction is significant. In it Yahweh is referred to here in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person whereas Yahweh is the subject of the main sentence. The sentence introduced by לְמַעַן is thus a comment by the narrator drawing a conclusion from the preceding. In this sentence there is a change from direct speech in the matrix to narrative in the final sentence. The question to be asked here is whether Yahweh is referring to himself in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person - see also the comment יְהוָה דֶּרֶךְ וְשָׁמְרוּ which still forms part of the matrix. If there is a change from direct speech to narrative, when does it take place?

Genesis 37:22

22 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים רְאוּבֵן  
 אֶל־הַשְּׂפָכוֹ־דָם  
 הַשְּׁלִיכוּ אֹתוֹ אֶל־הַבּוֹר הַזֶּה  
 אֲשֶׁר בְּמִדְבָּר וְיָד  
 אֶל־הַשְּׁלַח־יָבֹ  
 לְמַעַן הַצִּיל אֹתוֹ מִיָּדָם  
 לְהַשִּׁיבוֹ אֶל־אָבִיו:

*Comment:* In this example, there is a change from discourse (three negated volitions in the matrix introduced by אֶל־הַשְּׂפָכוֹ־דָם) to narrative in the final sentence. The final sentence is an example of narrative comment. It is an insight that the narrator accords the reader. This information is not available to the other listeners/actors present in the story. What is the syntactic relation between the sentence לְמַעַן הַצִּיל אֹתוֹ מִיָּדָם and the previous negated chain? Is the final sentence in this instance dependent or independent? Although the final sentence introduced by לְמַעַן flows logically from the preceding it appears to be syntactically independent. See also Exodus 11:4-7.

#### 4.4.4.3 Type H: Inversion of the Pattern “Bildungsmuster”

Final constructions, we have seen previously, always follow the pattern:

**Matrix** —————► **Nachsatz”** (לְמַעַן, *yiqtol* or infinitive)

There are a few examples where the final לְמַעַן does not take initial position in the final sentence but is preceded by כִּי. The “Bildungsmuster” for final constructions is always inversed in such cases, with the final sentence preceding the matrix.<sup>29</sup>

1 Samuel 17:28

28 וַיִּשְׁמַע אֱלִיאָב אָחִיו הַגָּדוֹל בְּדַבְרוֹ אֶל־הָאֲנָשִׁים  
וַיַּחֲרֹאֲף אֱלִיאָב בְּדוֹד  
וַיֹּאמֶר לְמַה־זֶּה יִרְדֹּף  
וְעַל־מִי נִשְׁשֵׁף מֵעַט הַצֵּאן הַחֲנָה בַּמִּדְבָּר  
אֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי אֶת־זִדְדָךְ  
וְאַתָּה רָע לְבָבֶךָ  
כִּי לְמַעַן רְאוֹת הַמִּלְחָמָה  
יִרְדֹּף:

*Comment:* The matrix follows the final sentence. There is no subject change between the final sentences and the matrix. The final conjunction always takes the initial position in the final sentence, but in these cases the position is occupied by כִּי. The final constructions after כִּי functions firstly as a final sentence after יִרְדֹּף and, secondly, as “Begründungssatz”. Notice the main sentence has the verbal form qatal. There is no subject change between the matrix and the final sentence. The final sentence and the matrix are in contact position. See also Ezekiel 40:4.

In this final construction, the normal order “Vordersatz – Nachsatz” is inverted, resulting in the “Nachsatz” preceding the “Vordersatz”. The reason for the inversion could be due to the presence of the particle כִּי which not only removes the final conjunction from sentence initial

<sup>29</sup>Compare 1 Kings 12:15.



position, but also reverses the normal order of the two elements of the final construction. In most cases where the word order is inversed the sentence is introduced by the particle כִּי (See Ezekiel 40:4, 1 Samuel 12:28, Exodus 20:20 - though the final conjunction in this instance is בְּעִבּוֹר<sup>30</sup> and not לְמַעַן).

I will also argue below that the inversion allows for the expression of a past event. The same is true with negated sentences introduced by הֲלוֹא (2 Samuel 10:3, 1 Chronicles 19:3). There is one exception to this rule though in a case with בְּעִבּוֹר (Exodus 20:20). I will return to this case in my discussion of בְּעִבּוֹר in section 4.5.

I have also pointed out that in all the cases where the normal order is reversed the following conditions prevail:

- (i) The final sentence is either preceded by the particle כִּי the negative interrogative הֲלוֹא or the preposition לְ.
- (ii) The final conjunction is followed by an infinitive and never a yiqtol verbal form.
- (iii) The matrix is occupied by a qatal verbal form.
- (iv) The “Nachsatz” and the matrix are always in contact position.

A final comment needs to be made concerning the third condition. Contrary to the examples thus far studied where final sentences expressed a future intention and an intended result or consequence of an envisaged action, inversed final constructions with qatal in the matrix serve as an interpretation of a past event. There is therefore a tense (by tense I understand grammaticalized time) difference between the two constructions. Whereas constructions with the “normal” word order express future events or intentions, the reversed word order

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<sup>30</sup>Cf. my discussion in section 4.5.

expresses past events. The latter serves as an interpretation of the motives of an actor in an event that has *already taken place* (expressed by the qatal verbal form).

#### 4.4.4.4 Examples Where the Function Result or Consequences Seem to be More Likely Than that of Purpose.

There are some instances where לְמַעַן infinitive seem to express result rather than purpose. In such cases, of which most examples occur in the book of Jeremiah, it appears as if the final sentence either conveys the result or that the matrix expresses the basis for the action explained in the final sentence. In most cases one is tempted to translate thus, whereby, or “wodurch” in German.

Leviticus 20:3

3 וְאִנִּי אֶתֵּן אֶת־פָּנִי בְּאִישׁ הַהוּא  
וְהִכָּרְתִּי אֹתוֹ מִקֶּרֶב עַמּוֹ  
כִּי מִזְרָעוֹ נָתַן לַמֶּלֶךְ  
לְמַעַן טַמֵּא אֶת־מִקְדָּשִׁי  
וְלַחֲלֹל אֶת־שֵׁם קֹדְשִׁי:

*Comment:* The question that needs to be answered here is whether it was the intention to despise Yahweh or was that which was introduced by לְמַעַן merely the inevitable result of the previous action. This case has similarities with the example just discussed (1 Samuel 17:28) - it seems that in this instance it would also be possible to inverse the word order, i.e., final sentence - matrix. One, therefore, would have expected the final sentence to immediately follow the conjunction וְ. It appears, however, that the writer has different intentions with this construction. Firstly, notice the word order in the matrix following וְ. The word order in the construction allows for the expression of a past event ("Vorvergangenheit"). This sentence provides a reason for the Yahweh's action. The matrix, introduced by וְ therefore identifies the past action that caused Yahweh to cut offender from the midst of his people.



The final sentence is followed by a syndetic infinitive construction. It appears that the latter is co-ordinated with the לַמַּעַן final sentence, and that there is no functional difference between the two constructions. I will discuss such constructions in section 4.4.4.5.

Exodus 11:9

9 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה  
לֹא־יִשְׁמַע אֲלֵיכֶם פַּרְעֹה  
לַמַּעַן רַבּוֹת מוֹפְתֵי בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם:

*Comment:* The matrix consists of a statement by Yahweh. The final sentence expresses a consequence of the events described in the matrix rather than a purpose. However, this functional distinction cannot be differentiated syntactically (cf. 1 Kings 12:15).

2 Kings 22:16-17

16 כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה  
הֲגַנִּי מִבֵּיא רָעָה אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה וְעַל־יִשְׁבִּי  
אֶת כָּל־דִּבְרֵי הַסֵּפֶר אֲשֶׁר קָרָא מֶלֶךְ יְהוֹדָה:  
17 תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר עָזְבוּנִי  
וַיִּקְטְרוּ לֵאלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים  
לַמַּעַן הִכְעִיסֵנִי בְּכָל מַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵיהֶם  
וַנִּצְתָּה חֲמָתִי בַּמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה וְלֹא תִכָּבֶּה

*Comment:* There is no subject change between the final sentence and the matrix. The matrix consists of a “Jahweh Rede”. The final sentence expresses the consequence of the action in the matrix rather than the purpose. The translation “whereby they provoked me to anger with the works of their hands” instead of the RSV translation “that they might provoke me to anger with all the work of their hands,” is to be preferred. This example again points to the difficulty that there is to identify definite syntactic criteria to differentiate between purpose and result. One could argue that it seems unlikely that it was their intention to provoke Yahweh but that Yahweh’s provocation was rather the consequence of their action. Other examples:

Deuteronomy 29:12, 1 Kings 7:10<sup>31</sup>, 2 Kings 23:24, Isaiah 30:1, Jeremiah 7:18, 7:19, 11:5, 27:15, 32:29, 32:35, 44:8, Micah 6:16.

As was clear from the cases analyzed, it is difficult to identify syntactic criteria to differentiate between purpose and result. It is significant that in the instances where the function of result rather than the purpose seems primary in לְמַעַן infinitive final sentences, certain verbs seem to recur. The verb כָּעַס and the hifil of the verb קָו are frequent. Brongers (1973, 87) is of the opinion that the translation “um zu” is used in particular for transitive verbs and the translation “damit” for intransitive verbs. This study shows that this distinction does not hold as the three popular transitive verbs יָדַע, זָכַר and זָאָם are all translated differently.

The common element in all the examples investigated is that they all express some form of “Jahweh Rede”. That, however, does not constitute a syntactic reason why one is tempted to translate the construction as a result rather than purpose relation. One could argue that “Jahweh Rede” has unique syntactic features and rules (i.e., there are many attested cases where the Hebrew writer uses a strange convention where Yahweh speaks of himself in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person). Although investigating the unique features of the syntax of “Jahweh Rede” would make an interesting study, more work has to be done for such an argument to be used as a support for the choice of translating the sentences under investigation with result rather than purpose.

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<sup>31</sup>See discussion in Brongers (1973, 84-96).



#### 4.4.4.5 לְמַעַן Infinitive Followed by לְ Infinitive

There are a few cases where the לְמַעַן final sentence is followed by another infinitive construction. These examples are Leviticus 20:3, Deuteronomy 8:2, 8:16. What is the relation between the two constructions?

Deuteronomy 8:2

2 וַיִּזְכֹּרְתָּ אֶת־כָּל־הַדָּרֶךְ  
אֲשֶׁר הָלַכְתָּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ זֶה אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה בַּמִּדְבָּר  
לְמַעַן עֲנֹתְךָ  
לְנִסְתָּךְ  
לְדַעַת אֶת־אֲשֶׁר בְּלִבְבְּךָ  
הַתְּשֹׁמֵר מִצְוֹתָיו אִם־לֹא:

*Comment:* In verse 2 the final sentence לְמַעַן עֲנֹתְךָ is followed by two infinitive constructions. All of these constructions express purpose. Notice that the two last infinitive constructions are asyndetic. The entire construction expresses three consecutive purpose constructions. God allowed Israel to have certain experiences ... to humble them. He humbled them with the purpose of testing them. He tested them with the purpose of knowing what was in their heart. The first conjunctive final sentence is thus sub-ordinated to the preceding matrix. The succeeding infinitive constructions are dependent on the immediately preceding construction.

Deuteronomy 8:16

16 הַמֵּאכֶלֶךְ מִן בַּמִּדְבָּר  
אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָדְעוּן אֲבֹתֶיךָ  
לְמַעַן עֲנֹתְךָ  
וּלְמַעַן נִסְתָּךְ  
לְהִיטָבְךָ בְּאַחֲרִיתֶךָ:

*Comment:* Verse 16 consists of two co-ordinated conjunctive final constructions. The matrix is the preceding statement by Yahweh and contains no “Aufforderung”. There is no subject change between the matrix and the final sentences. The final sentence express purpose. The

co-ordinated final sentences are followed by an infinitive construction **לְהִיטָבֵךְ**. This infinitive construction expresses the purpose of the entire final construction (including the two co-ordinated final constructions). A point of interest which I will raise again later in my discussion of co-ordinated final sentences is that there are no instances where more than two conjunctive final sentences are co-ordinated, as is the case in verse 16.

#### 4.4.4.6 Summary of Syntactic Features of **לְמַעַן** Infinitival Final Sentences

- (i) The **לְמַעַן** infinitive constructions comprise a different distribution than the **לְמַעַן** yiqtol groups. For example one seldom, if ever, finds an “Aufforderung” in the matrixes of conjunctive final constructions with an infinitive in the “Nachsatz”.
- (ii) Very often the matrix is occupied by a qatal verbal form<sup>32</sup> which is never the case with conjunctive constructions with a finite verb in the matrix.
- (iii) On occasion wayyiqtol<sup>33</sup> occupies the matrix<sup>34</sup> so that it can be concluded that the **לְמַעַן** infinitive final sentences realize final relations in narrative as well as in discourse. The **לְמַעַן** yiqtol constructions only realize final relations in discourse.
- (iv) The non-volitional verbal form qatal, as has been noted, is the most common verbal form in the matrix of **לְמַעַן** infinitive final constructions. In the **לְמַעַן** yiqtol group, the most common governing verbal form is a volitional form, often followed by a weqatal chain and, therefore, is in non-contact position. Like the inversed cases, these examples with qatal in the matrix allow for the expression of a past event.

<sup>32</sup>See Genesis 50:20, Deuteronomy 2:29-30, Deuteronomy 29:11, 1 Samuel 17:27, 1 Kings 11:35-36.

<sup>33</sup>See Exodus 1:10, Deuteronomy 8:3, 2 Kings 22:16.

<sup>34</sup>Mitchell, discussing **לְמַעַן**, formulates the following principle “The rule is that the perfect, - or its equivalent, the perfect consecutive, - in the protasis is followed by the infinitive in the apodosis, while the imperfect, - or its equivalent the perfect consecutive, - and the imperative require the imperfect in the dependent sentence” (1879, 23). This rule is confirmed by this study.



- (v) Unlike the  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  yiqtol constructions, where a subject change between the matrix is the rule rather than the exception, the situation is precisely the opposite with the  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  infinitive formations. Most  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  infinitive verbal forms are in contact position and very rarely has a subject change between the matrix and the ‘Nachsatz’ so that most are translated “in order to”. Hence it seems that the question of whether there is a subject change between the matrix and the “Nachsatz” can serve as a syntactic marker to indicate when a construction expresses purpose and when result. Instances in which where there are no subject changes (like  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  infinitive) are more readily interpreted as purpose sentences.
- (vi) Based on the different verbal forms in the matrix of the  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  infinitive constructions, it is clear that the finite and the infinitival cases cover different domains and are not simply interchangeable. The range of the  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  infinitival constructions is far greater, and displays a greater variety of syntactic constructions.
- (vii) One could conclude that the choice for either the infinitive or yiqtol after the  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  is syntactically and semantically determined by what the writer aims to express. Whereas the  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  yiqtol final constructions are restricted to speech - the  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  infinitive constructions can also realize a final relation in narrative. Whereas  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  yiqtol constructions only express a future intention and an intended result or consequence of an envisaged action, certain  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  infinitive constructions with qatal in the matrix serve as an interpretation of a motive of a past event.
- (viii) There seems to be a close relation between the  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  infinitive constructions and the infinitive construction with preposition  $\text{לְ}$ , evident from the few examples analyzed.

An investigation of all the infinitive constructions need to be made before a suggestion could be formulated in this regard. A further comment on these constructions will be made in my discussion on co-ordination of final constructions.

- (ix) A point of interest that needs to be made is that, apart from the marker identified in item number (v) above to help distinguish between purpose and result, a second factor is also important. Final constructions which include the verbal roots כַּעַס and the hifil of קוּם in their “Nachsatz” favor a interpretation/translation of result rather than purpose. It would seem then that the issue of the semantics of conjunctive final constructions also contributes to its interpretation as purpose or result sentences.
- (x) Lastly it appears that an investigation of certain speech types like “Jahweh Rede” has its own syntactic idiosyncrasies, which may also play a role in determining whether to interpret the “Nachsatz” of conjunctive final constructions as purpose or result.

#### 4.5 CONJUNCTIVE FINAL CONSTRUCTIONS WITH THE CONJUNCTION בְּעֵבוֹר IN THE “NACHSATZ”

##### 4.5.1 Statistics

Like לְמַעַן, בְּעֵבוֹר functions both as a preposition as well as a final conjunction. The same observations regarding the uses of לְמַעַן apply accordingly to בְּעֵבוֹר. It occurs 48 times in the Hebrew Bible. In most of these cases בְּעֵבוֹר functions as a preposition (32 times).<sup>35</sup> For the rest, the construction בְּעֵבוֹר infinitive occurs only 7 times. There are 9 cases where בְּעֵבוֹר functions as a conjunction, i.e., immediately followed by a finite verb. One of these occurs in the Psalms. בְּעֵבוֹר occurs most frequently in Genesis (9 times), as preposition (5 times), the

<sup>35</sup>In this respect it differs from לְמַעַן whose primary function seems to be conjunctive.



rest as final conjunctions. Its second most frequent occurrence is in the books of 1 and 2 Samuel, though in the majority of cases as a preposition.

The construction **בְּעִבּוֹר** *yiqtol* does not appear at all in the Samuel books but the construction **בְּעִבּוֹר** infinitive occurs 4 times in 2 Samuel. Exodus also shows a relatively large number of incidences of **בְּעִבּוֹר**, with the construction **בְּעִבּוֹר** infinitive occurring 2 times, the construction **בְּעִבּוֹר** *yiqtol*, 3 times, and two occurrences of **בְּעִבּוֹר** as a preposition. It is significant that in the books where **לְמַעַן** is extremely common, i.e., Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah, **בְּעִבּוֹר** does not feature at all. It could be speculated that at some stage in the development of the language both forms were used. It seems plausible also that one of the forms of **בְּעִבּוֹר** and **לְמַעַן** is an older form which, in time, apparently became obsolete.

#### 4.5.2 Observations Regarding the Distribution of **בְּעִבּוֹר** in the Hebrew Bible.

Figure 2, see overleaf, which shows the distribution of **בְּעִבּוֹר** in the Hebrew Bible. From the graph it is clear that the main function of **בְּעִבּוֹר** is prepositional, except for the *Torah* where the construction **בְּעִבּוֹר** *yiqtol* is most prevalent.

4.5.2.1 Outside of the *Torah* the construction **בְּעִבּוֹר** *yiqtol* occurs only once in Psalms with no occurrences in the *Neviim*.

4.5.2.2 **בְּעִבּוֹר** infinitive occurs only in Exodus and 2 Samuel with no occurrences in the *Ketuvim*.

4.5.2.3 **בְּעִבּוֹר** is completely absent from the books traditionally considered to contain “late” Hebrew, i.e., 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Ester, Daniel.

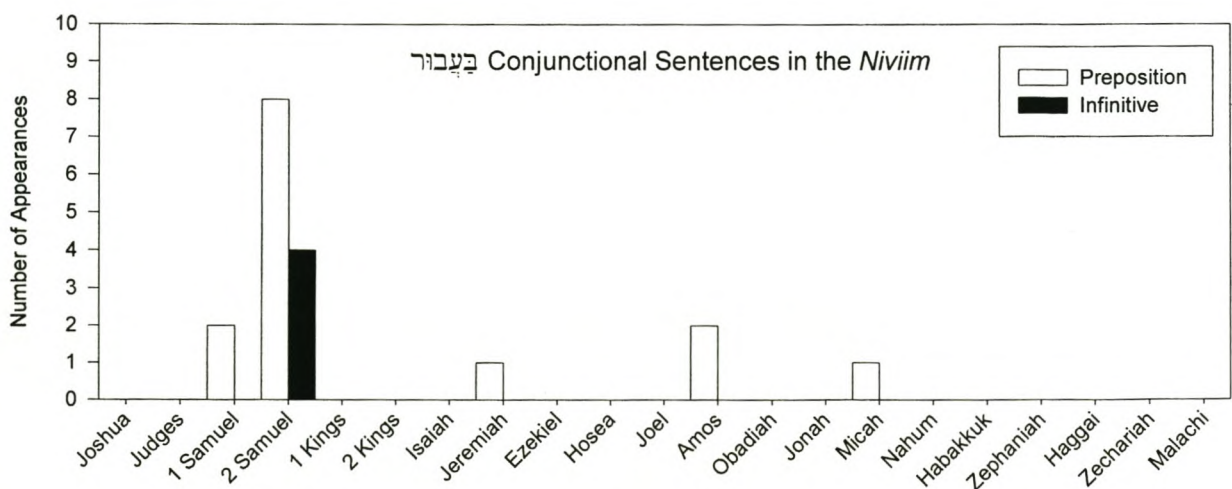
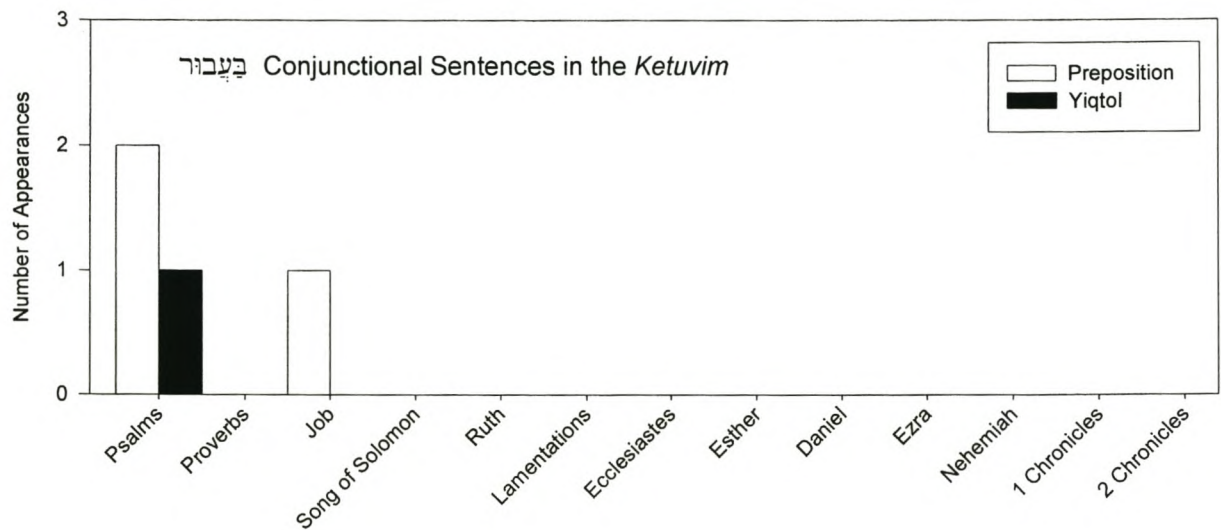
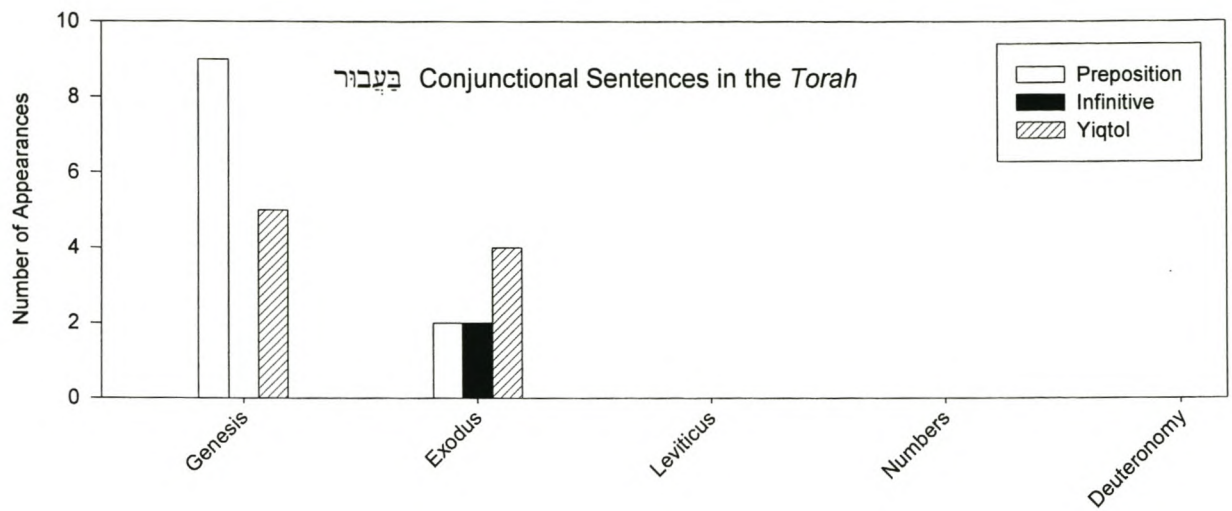


Figure 2. Distribution of בְּעִבּוּר in the books of the Old Testament.



4.5.2.4 **בְּעֵבוֹר** is most prevalent in the *Niviim*, though absent in those sections where **לְמַעַן** is common.

#### 4.5.3 **בְּעֵבוֹר** Yiqtol or Infinitive

Because of the relatively limited number of the cases of **בְּעֵבוֹר** in the Hebrew Bible, I will not distinguish between categories for yiqtol and the infinitive as was done for **לְמַעַן**. The difference between these groups identified earlier will be kept in mind when the individual cases of **בְּעֵבוֹר** are discussed. These case can then serve either as vindication or contradiction of the principles already established.

Likewise, I will also not differentiate between each verbal form according to its markedness for person (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> person). However, the relevant observations made with regard to **לְמַעַן** could also be applied to **בְּעֵבוֹר**. I will make a few observations of importance concerning the **בְּעֵבוֹר** cases. **בְּעֵבוֹר** shows examples of all the categories attested for with **לְמַעַן**.

##### 4.5.3.1 Type A: Non-Contact Position

Genesis 27:4

4 וַעֲשֵׂה־לִּי מִטַּעֲמִים  
כַּאֲשֶׁר אָהַבְתִּי  
וְהָבִי־אֵלַי  
וְאֹכְלָה  
בְּעֵבוֹר חֲבֻרָה נַפְשִׁי  
בְּטָרֶם אֲמוֹת:

*Comment:* The matrix consists of an imperative chain **וַעֲשֵׂה־לִּי**, **וְהָבִי־אֵלַי**. The third element in the chain **וְאֹכְלָה** is a conjunctionless final sentence “that I may eat” and, therefore, subordinated and not co-ordinated to the preceding imperatives. This is followed by an asyndetic conjunctive final sentence. The fact that **בְּעֵבוֹר** is asyndetic is of significance. This means

that it is not co-ordinated to the previous final sentence. The matrix of this conjunctive final construction is thus everything that precedes, including the conjunctionless final sentence. For other examples, see Genesis 27:19, 27:31, 46:34, Exodus 9:14. Compare also Exodus 33:13, a similar example discussed previously with לְמַעַן.

#### 4.5.3.2 Type B: Contact Position

Genesis 21:30

30 וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי אֶת־שֶׁבַע כְּבָשָׂת  
תִּקַּח מִיָּדִי  
בְּעֶבֶר תְּהִיָּה־לִּי לְעֵדָה  
כִּי חָפְרָתִי אֶת־הַבָּאֵר הַזֹּאת:

*Comment:* There is a volition in the matrix. This volition is expressed by a prefix conjugation תִּקַּח. There is a subject change between the matrix and the final sentence and they are in contact position.

#### 4.5.3.3 Type C: “Aufforderung” in the Matrix

Because of the small corpus, I will again use the previous example, Genesis 21:30, which is suitable for this category as well. I have made the point earlier that the sentence types are not entirely exclusive.

Genesis 21:30

30 וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי אֶת־שֶׁבַע כְּבָשָׂת  
תִּקַּח מִיָּדִי  
בְּעֶבֶר תְּהִיָּה־לִּי לְעֵדָה  
כִּי חָפְרָתִי אֶת־הַבָּאֵר הַזֹּאת:

*Comment:* Notice the volition in the matrix. The matrix and the final sentence is in contact position, and there is a subject change between the matrix and the “Nachsatz”. In the cases where there are volition in the matrix one can expect to find a finite verb (yiqtol) in the



“Nachsatz” rather than an infinitive. Compare Mitchell’s rule” (footnote 32, this chapter) which was confirmed by the findings of this study.

#### 4.5.3.4 Type D: Non-Volitional in the Matrix

##### (i) Participial/Nominal Sentence in the Matrix

2 Samuel 18:18

18 וְאַבְשָׁלָם לָקַח  
וַיַּצְבֵּלּוּ בַחַיִּיו אֶת־מִצֵּבֶת אֲשֶׁר בְּעִמְק־הַמֶּלֶךְ  
כִּי אָמַר אֵין־לִי בֶן  
בְּעָבוּר הַזִּכִּיר שָׁמַי  
וַיִּקְרָא לַמִּצֵּבֶת עַל־שְׁמוֹ  
וַיִּקְרָא לָהּ יָד אַבְשָׁלָם עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:

*Comment:* Notice that the matrix does not have an “Aufforderung” but contains a simple statement expressed by a nominal sentence. The final conjunction is followed by an infinitive. There is no subject change between the matrix and the “Nachsatz”, which suggests the final sentence expresses purpose rather than result.

##### (ii) “Jahweh Rede”

In this type, the matrix consists of a “Jahweh Rede”. This is followed by a final sentence.

Exodus 19:9

9 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה  
הִנֵּה אֲנֹכִי בָּא אֵלֶיךָ בְּעָב הָעָנָן  
בְּעָבוּר יִשְׁמַע הָעָם בְּדִבְרֵי עֲמֹד  
וְגַם־בִּקֵּךְ יֵאֱמִינוּ לְעוֹלָם  
וַיַּגֵּד מֹשֶׁה אֶת־דִּבְרֵי הָעָם אֶל־יְהוָה:

*Comment:* Yahweh states an intention in the matrix in a participle sentence **בָּא**. The final sentence articulates the purpose of Yahweh's intention. There is no volition in the matrix. The final sentence is in contact position with the matrix.

#### 4.5.3.5 Type H (Inversion/ Reversal of Pattern)

These cases have been discussed in depth earlier with לְמַעַן and reference was also made to some of the examples discussed below. There are four examples in which the sentence order is inversed attested for בְּעֵבֹר. As with לְמַעַן, all cases have the infinitive in the final sentence which seems to be the only possibility with the inversion cases. Like לְמַעַן the inversion also follows the particle כִּי. With the בְּעֵבֹר cases, however, there are also examples of inversion following the negated interrogative particle הֲלוֹא, and the preposition לְ. The verbal form in the inverted matrix is always qatal. The following exemplify the inversion cases.

Exodus 20:20

20 וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־הָעָם  
אֶל־תִּירְאוּ  
כִּי לְבַעֲבוֹר נִסּוֹת אֲתֻכֶּם  
בָּא הָאֱלֹהִים  
וּבַעֲבוֹר תִּהְיֶה יִרְאַתוֹ עַל־פְּנֵיכֶם לְבִלְתִּי תִחַטְּאוּ

*Comment:* Notice that בְּעֵבֹר is preceded by the preposition לְ. The final sentence precedes its matrix. בְּעֵבֹר is followed by the infinitive which is always the case with inverted final constructions. The verbal form in the matrix is qatal. Notice also the co-ordinated בְּעֵבֹר. The *waw* connects the sentence to the previous בְּעֵבֹר and not to the immediately preceding qatal verb which is also its matrix. This case is very as the matrix is “sandwiched” between its two co-ordinated final sentences.

2 Samuel 10:3

3 וַיֹּאמְרוּ שָׂרֵי בְנֵי־עַמּוֹן אֶל־חֲנוּן אֲדֹנֵיהֶם  
הַמִּכְבֵּד דָּוִד אֶת־אַבְיָה בְּעֵינָיָה  
כִּי־שָׁלַח לָהֶם מְנַחֲמִים  
הֲלוֹא בַעֲבוֹר חֲקֹר אֶת־הָעִיר וּלְרַגְלָהּ וּלְהַפְכָּהּ



שָׁלַח דָּוִד אֶת־עֲבָדָיו אֵלָיָהּ

*Comment:* In this example the negated interrogative particle הֲלוֹא occupies the initial position in the “Nachsatz” similar to כִּי in previous examples. This is followed by an inversion in the word order resulting in the final sentence preceding the matrix. I have dealt with these examples in detail earlier and this case further corroborates the conclusions reached in those discussions.

1 Chronicles 19:3

3 וַיֹּאמְרוּ שָׂרֵי בְנֵי־עֲמֹן לְחֲנוּן  
הַמִּכְבֵּד דָּוִד אֶת־אֲבִיָּהּ בְּעֵינָיָהּ  
כִּי־שָׁלַח לָהּ מְנַחֲמִים  
הֲלֹא בַעֲבוּר לַחֲקֹר וּלְהַפֵּךְ וּלְרַגֵּל הָאָרֶץ  
בָּאוּ עֲבָדָיו אֵלָיָהּ: פ

*Comment:* The above two passages report about the same event but with subtle differences. Both reverse the order to final sentence/matrix after the interrogative particle. In the Chronicle version the infinitive is preceded by the preposition לְ which seems redundant. The subjects of the final sentences are different. In the first, David is the subject, in order to show that it was really David's intention and that he is actually behind it all. In the second Chronicles version his servants are the subject. David is the motivator behind the scene and does not come to the fore as clearly as in the first example.

2 Samuel 14:20

20 לְבַעֲבוּר סָבַב אֶת־פָּנָי הַדָּבָר  
עָשָׂה עֲבָדָהּ יוֹאָב אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה  
וְאֲדָנִי חָכָם כְּחִכְמַת מֶלֶךְ הָאֱלֹהִים  
לִדְעַת אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר בָּאָרֶץ: ס

*Comment:* This inverted case is preceded by neither an interrogative nor a כִּי, but simply by affixing the preposition לְ to the בַּעֲבוּר. It is similar to Exodus 20:20, except that in Exodus

20, כִּי precedes the final לְבַעֲבוֹר construction. הָיָה אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה עָשָׂה עֲבָדָךְ יוֹאָב אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה is the matrix, which follows the final sentence. Notice that the verb עָשָׂה in the matrix is in the initial position, as is generally the case in such constructions. Notice also that in those cases where the conjunction is followed by an infinitive the matrix is often occupied by a qatal verbal form, which further indicates the similarity between the לְבַעֲבוֹר and לְמַעַן constructions.

#### 4.5.3.6 Type G: Narrative Comment

לְבַעֲבוֹר shows one case of narrative comment. Like the לְמַעַן constructions an infinitive follows לְבַעֲבוֹר so that it may be concluded that the cases with narrative comment are exclusive to infinitival conjunctive final constructions.

2 Samuel 17:14

14 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבִשָּׁלוֹם וְכָל־אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל  
טוֹבָה עֲצַת חוּשִׁי הָאֲרָכִי מֵעֲצַת אַחִיתֹפֶל  
וַיְהִי צֶוֶה לְהַפִּיר אֶת־עֲצַת אַחִיתֹפֶל הַטּוֹבָה  
לְבַעֲבוֹר הָבִיא יְהוָה אֶל־אֲבִשָּׁלוֹם אֶת־הָרָעָה: 15

*Comment:* Yahweh is mentioned in the matrix as well as in the final construction. The second Yahweh in הָבִיא יְהוָה לְבַעֲבוֹר is redundant. The לְבַעֲבוֹר is preceded by a preposition לְ which also appears superfluous. In the other cases where לְבַעֲבוֹר is preceded by לְ there is a reversal of word order which is not the case here. This example is different from those narrative comment cases discussed earlier in that here, not only the final sentence, but the entire final construction expresses narrative comment.

#### 4.5.3.7 Summary of Syntactic Features of לְבַעֲבוֹר Final Sentences

- (i) לְבַעֲבוֹר seems to function in the same way as לְמַעַן, so that the two are interchangeable, as identical constructions are attested for both conjunctions.



- (ii) Some of the **בְּעֵבוֹר** constructions appear unusual, and rather archaic (**וְלֹא בְּעֵבוֹר**, **לְבְּעֵבוֹר**) as similar constructions are not attested for with **לְמַעַן**, which certainly is the more common of the two conjunctions. Therefore, I would like to suggest that it is the older of the two constructions which was later completely replaced by **לְמַעַן**.
- (iii) It would seem that with **בְּעֵבוֹר** the function as final conjunction is secondary to that of preposition. Of the 48 occurrences of **בְּעֵבוֹר** in the Hebrew Bible, it is used 32 times as a preposition. The main role of **לְמַעַן**, in contrast, is that of final conjunction (67 times as preposition as opposed to 205 times as final conjunction).
- (iv) It is of some significance that **בְּעֵבוֹר** does not feature in the books where **לְמַעַן** is prominent, and it would seem that the writer/s of Deuteronomy<sup>36</sup> did not know the construction at all.

#### 4.6 CO-ORDINATION OF CONJUNCTIONAL FINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

The examples for co-ordinated final constructions are not many. Exodus 9:16, 10:1-2, 20:19-20, Deuteronomy 4:40, 5:16, 6:2, 6:3, 8:16, 9:5, 11:8-9, 31:12 present the sum total of these examples. What stands out, however, is how varied the different constructions are which are co-ordinated to one another. These co-ordinated constructions are due to subject changes: (i) between the matrix and first final sentence, and (ii) the first and the second final sentences. This is an indication that there are very little functional differences among the groups, even though I have taken pains to formally distinguish the groups and the individual constructions from one another.

<sup>36</sup>The writers of Deuteronomy make use of alternative conjunctional final constructions like **לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר** or simply **אֲשֶׁר**. Even in co-ordinated conjunctional final sentences, where it is common to use varying combinations, **בְּעֵבוֹר** is not used.

#### 4.6.1 לַמַּעַן Yiqtol We לַמַּעַן Yiqtol

This type of construction is the most numerous with four cases.

Deuteronomy 31:12

12 הַקְהֵל אֶת־הָעָם הָאֲנָשִׁים וְהַנָּשִׁים  
וְהַטַּף וְגֵרְךָ אֲשֶׁר בְּשַׁעֲרֶיךָ  
לַמַּעַן יִשְׁמְעוּ  
וְלַמַּעַן יִלְמְדוּ  
וְיִרְאוּ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם  
וְשָׁמְרוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־כָּל־דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת

*Comment:* The matrix consists of a single imperative הַקְהֵל as volition. The final sentence is therefore in contact position. There is a subject change between the matrix and the final sentence, though the subject of the two co-ordinated final sentences are the same. The final sentences are followed by two weqatals. The weqatals are co-ordinated to the previous two co-ordinated final sentences, so that we have a chain of 4 co-ordinated final sentences. I have earlier argued that in such co-ordinations the conjunctive final sentences express purpose and the weqatal the result or consequence. I have also contended that there is a change of mood in such a chain. This would imply that, whereas the co-ordinated conjunctive final constructions in the case under discussion express a mood of probability or possibility, with the introduction of the further co-ordinated weqatal constructions the mood changes to the indicative (section 4.4.3.2.6, i.e., the sequence לַמַּעַן Yiqtol + weqatal). A translation suggestion will then be as follows: “that you *may* listen and learn, and then you *will* fear the Lord and *will* be careful to do the words of this law.” The situation thus changes from one of purpose to assured consequence. All of these cases occur in direct speech. It is worth noting that in all the examples of co-ordinated conjunctive final sentences, there is not a single case where more than two conjunctive final sentences are co-ordinated. After the second co-ordinated conjunctive final sentence a co-ordinated weqatal verbal form normally follows if



further co-ordination is called for. It is possible however, that the use of weqatal in these constructions could be prompted simply by syntactic reasons to avoid the monotony of using  $\text{לִמְעַן}$ . Though such a possibility cannot entirely be discounted, there are ample instances where a weqatal chain is coordinated to a single  $\text{לִמְעַן}$  sentence. In some of these cases the weqatal chain includes three verbs, so that the argument of monotony will have to apply for weqatal as well. It would appear then, that the writer use weqatal after coordinated  $\text{לִמְעַן}$  constructions to convey a change in mood.

Compare Deuteronomy 5:16, 6:2, 11:8-9 for three more examples of co-ordinated  $\text{לִמְעַן}$  Yiqtol We  $\text{לִמְעַן}$  Yiqtol constructions.

#### 4.6.2 $\text{לִמְעַן}$ Infinitive We $\text{לִמְעַן}$ Infinitive

Deuteronomy 8:16

16 הַמֵּאכֶלֶךְ מִן בַּמִּדְבָּר  
אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָדְעוּן אֲבֹתֶיךָ  
לִמְעַן עֲנֶתְךָ  
וְלִמְעַן נִסְתָּךָ  
לְהִיטָבֶךָ בְּאַחֲרֵיתֶךָ:

*Comment:* The matrix contains no volition. Two  $\text{לִמְעַן}$  infinitive final sentences are co-ordinated. The waw on the second conjunction is the marker for co-ordination. The co-ordinated final sentences are followed by a  $\text{לִ}$  infinitive construction (asyndetic). Like the previous example, the co-ordinated chain consists of a maximum of two conjunctive co-ordinated final sentences. The third element in the co-ordinated chain is an infinitive construction. Because the co-ordinated final sentences are infinitival, it is followed by a infinitive construction, and not weqatal as in the previous example. Compare also my discussion of  $\text{לִמְעַן}$  infinitive followed by  $\text{לִ}$  infinitive in section 4.4.4.5.

Cf. also Exodus 9:16 for a further example of co-ordinated *לִמְעַן* infinitive *we לִמְעַן* infinitive constructions (The first final sentence is introduced by *בְּעֵבוּר* and the subjects of the two final sentences are not the same).

#### 4.6.3 *לִמְעַן* Infinitive *We לִמְעַן* Yiqtol

In these constructions the infinitive construction is always the first component of the co-ordinated pair.

Exodus 10:1-2

1 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה  
בֹּא אֶל־פַּרְעֹה  
כִּי־אֲנִי הִכְבַּדְתִּי אֶת־לְבֹו וְאֶת־לֵב עֲבָדָיו  
לִמְעַן שְׂתִי אֶתְחִי אֱלֹה בְּקִרְבּוֹ:  
2 וְלִמְעַן תִּסְפָּר בְּאָזְנִי בְּנֵי וּבְנֵי־בְנֵי אֶת  
אֲשֶׁר הִתְעַלְלֹתִי בְּמִצְרַיִם  
וְאֶת־אֶתְחִי אֲשֶׁר־שָׂמֹתִי בָם  
וַיֵּדְעוּם כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה:

*Comment:* In this chain there are three co-ordinated final sentences. The first is an infinitival final sentence, followed by a co-ordinated *לִמְעַן* sentence (syndetic) and the third a weqatal final sentence. I have already shown that there are no instances where more than two conjunctive final sentences are co-ordinated (i.e., where the conjunction is repeated more than two times). I will argue in the following that the choice of the elements of the co-ordinated chain is not merely for the sake of variety or stylistic reasons, but that each element brings a different nuance to the constructions and was carefully and deliberately chosen by the writer.

I mentioned earlier that the infinitive construction is the first element of this co-ordinated chain. This fact is of some significance. I have previously argued (section 4.4.4.6) that infinitive constructions, because of weqatal in the matrix, can express an interpretation of the



intention of a past event. The form **וְהִכְבַּדְתִּי** in the matrix requires an infinitive in the “Nachsatz”. Yiqtol conjunctive final constructions refer to future intentions, and never has a qatal verbal form in their matrix. This contention is borne out by the current example. The initial element of the conjunctive chain is infinitival (with a qatal in the matrix) and thus refers to a past event. The second element is the co-ordinated final chain is yiqtol and refers to a future intention ... “that you may learn.”

The chain still has a third element **וְיָדַעְתֶּם כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה**. The third member of this co-ordinated final chain, a weqatal verbal form, expresses the consequences of the preceding, i.e., “and then you *will* know that I am Yahweh”. Each element of the final chain therefore, appears to be carefully chosen, and brings a specific nuance to the construction.

The Bible translations and commentaries consulted do not capture the change in syntax and consequently the shift in nuance in the final constructions in Exodus 10:1-2. The RSV translates as follows, “Go in to Pharaoh, for I have hardened his heart and the heart of his servants, that I may show these signs of mine among them, and that you may tell in the hearing of your son and ... that you may know that I am the Lord.” The RSV’s translation of the three final sentences with “that I *may* know”, “that I you *may* tell”, and “that you *may* know” indicates a modal interpretation of the constructions involved. The NIV and NRSV translate similarly.

Durham’s (1987, 131) interpretation is also along the same lines “Go to Pharaoh – because I have made heavy and dull both his mind and the minds of the members of his court, to the end that I may be taken seriously through these signs of mine right in their own territory, and to the end that you may recount again and again in the hearing of your son and grandson ... in order that you may know by experience that I am Yahweh.” Like the RSV, NIV and the

NRSV, Durham interprets all three constructions as expressing purpose. So also Childs (1974, 125) “Go to Pharaoh, for I have hardened his heart and the heart of his courtiers in order that I may perform these signs of mine among them, in that you may recount to your son and ... so that you may know that I am the Lord.”

Both the commentators and the translators interpreted the constructions as a chain of final sentences, without according any significance to the difference in syntax in the three final constructions. This further supports my contention that Bible interpreters and translators often show little regard for the syntactic intricacies of the original text.

#### 4.6.4 **יִקְטֹל** *Infinitive We* **יִקְטֹל** *Yiqtol*

Exodus 20:20

20 וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־הָעָם  
אֶל־תִּירְאוּ  
כִּי לִבְעֵבוֹר נִסּוֹת אֲתֶכֶם  
בָּא הָאֱלֹהִים  
וּבְעֵבוֹר תִּהְיֶה יִרְאַתוֹ עַל־פְּנֵיכֶם  
לְבַלְתִּי תִחַטְּאוּ

*Comment:* This particular case is noteworthy because of the inversion after **כִּי** which results in the matrix being sandwiched between the two co-ordinated final sentences. The syndetic **יִקְטֹל** is, therefore, not co-ordinated to the matrix but to the previous final sentence. The discussion concerning inverted cases after **כִּי** applies to this example and the conclusions drawn are further corroborated by this example. There is a definite change in the tense between the first two co-ordinated final sentences. The first final sentence comments on the intention of a past event whereas the second expresses a future intention.



לְבַלְתִּי תִחַטָּאוּ is the third element in this final chain and expresses a negative final sentence.

After the second conjunctive final sentence an infinitive is to be expected (see Deuteronomy 8:16).

#### 4.6.5 We לְמַעַן Yiqtol

Deuteronomy 4:40

40 וְשָׁמַרְתָּ אֶת־חֻקֵּי וְאֶת־מִצְוֹתַי  
אֲשֶׁר אֲנֹכִי מֵצִוְךָ הַיּוֹם  
אֲשֶׁר יִיטֵב לָךְ וּלְבִנְיֶיךָ אַחֲרֶיךָ  
וּלְמַעַן תִּאָּרִיד יָמִים עַל־הָאָדָמָה  
אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נָתַן לָךְ כָּל־הַיָּמִים: פ

*Comment:* The first final sentence is introduced by אֲשֶׁר followed by yiqtol, to which a לְמַעַן yiqtol sentence is co-ordinated. It may be of importance that in other cases of a final אֲשֶׁר, the verb form is also יִיטֵב.<sup>37</sup> אֲשֶׁר appears to have the function of a final conjunction like לְמַעַן or בְּעֵבוֹר. The matrix consists of a volitional chain.

#### 4.6.6 Co-ordinated לְמַעַן, weqatal and אֲשֶׁר Final Constructions

Deuteronomy 6:2-3

2 לְמַעַן תִּירָא אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ  
לְשָׁמֹר אֶת־כָּל־חֻקֹּתָיו וּמִצְוֹתָיו  
אֲשֶׁר אֲנֹכִי מֵצִוְךָ אֹתָהּ וּבֶן־בִּנְיָן כָּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ  
וּלְמַעַן יֵאָרְכֶן יָמֶיךָ:  
3 וְשָׁמַעְתָּ יִשְׂרָאֵל  
וְשָׁמַרְתָּ לַעֲשׂוֹת  
אֲשֶׁר יִיטֵב לָךְ  
וְאֲשֶׁר תִּרְבּוֹן מְאֹד  
כִּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶי אֲבֹתֶיךָ לָךְ אֶרֶץ זָבַת חָלָב וּדְבַשׁ: פ

<sup>37</sup>See Deuteronomy 5:29, 6:3.

*Comment:* The matrix of these final sentences consists of a “Jahweh Rede” in verse 1. In the above verses a chain of three consecutive sets of co-ordinated final sentences are expressed. The first combination is in verse 2, consisting of two *לִמְעַן* *yiqtol* co-ordinated final sentences *לִמְעַן תִּירָא* and *וּלְמַעַן יֵאָרְכֶן*. The second pair is in verse 3a consisting of a set of *weqatal* final sentences *וְשָׁמַרְתָּ* and *וְשָׁמַעְתָּ*. The third set is in verse 3b where we have two *אֲשֶׁר* *yiqtol* final constructions *וְאֲשֶׁר תִּרְבּוּן* and *אֲשֶׁר יִטֵּב*. Could it be that the writer(s), for stylistic reasons, chose not to use *לִמְעַן* again but avail themselves of another, less common conjunctive final construction known to them? If this is indeed the case, why was *בְּעֵבוֹר* not used? This omission seems to confirm my earlier contention that the writer(s) of Deuteronomy did not know *בְּעֵבוֹר* as it does not occur at all in Deuteronomy.<sup>38</sup> This instance would have been a good case for the use of another final construction, if only for stylistic reasons.

I do believe, however, that style was not the only reason for the change in constructions. According to an opinion expressed earlier, the use of the *weqatal* construction allows the writer the possibility to change from a modal construction in verse 2 “... that you *may* fear Yahweh your God, ... and that your days *may* be prolonged” to an indicative construction in verse 2b, “and then (consequence) Israel will hear and be careful to do.” The last set of final sentences gives the “hoped for” result of Israel listening and doing “... it *may* go well with them and that they *may* multiply greatly.”

This example further supports an earlier contention that the Hebrew writer never co-ordinated more than two conjunctive final sentences. There are cases though of a final chain consisting of more than two consecutive *weqatal* verbs (Deuteronomy 8:1).

<sup>38</sup>There are two occurrences of the construction *אֲשֶׁר לִמְעַן* in Deuteronomy 20:18 and 27:3.



The two infinitive constructions in verse 1, although also expressing purpose, do not form part of the chain under discussion as the first **לַמַּעַן** in verse 2 is asyndetic. By using this chain of three different pairs of final conjunctions the writer portrays a series of consecutive events, each set in motion with the aim of either achieving the following event, or resulting in (having consequence for), a succeeding event.

The RSV translation, however, expresses a different opinion. It does not interpret the weqatal constructions **וְשָׁמַרְתָּ** and **וְשָׁמַרְתָּ** as part of the final chain and therefore as sub-ordinate sentences, but as an “Aufforderung”, thereby introducing a new “mainline” element. They translate verse 3 as follows “Hear therefore O Israel, and be careful to do them, that it may go well with you.” Although this translation certainly produces a far less clumsy translation and solves a lot of problems in English, it militates against the syntax and the grammar of the construction in Hebrew. If the Hebrew writer hoped to express an “Aufforderung” as the RSV translation suggests, using an imperative (see verse 4) is the grammatically viable and correct option. It is technically possible to use weqatal to express “Aufforderung”, but that would only be possible if the weqatal in its function as continuation form, follows an imperative or any other verb expressing “Aufforderung.” The RSV translation is therefore not syntactically justifiable.

#### 4.6.7 Co-ordinated **לַמַּעַן** as Part of an Adversative Sentence

Deuteronomy 9:5

5 לֹא בְצִדְקָתְךָ וּבִישׁוֹר לִבְבְּךָ אֶתָּה בָּא לְרִשֵּׁת אֶת־אֲרָצָם  
כִּי בְרִשְׁעַת הַגּוֹיִם הָאֵלֶּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מוֹרִישָׁם מִפְּנֵיךָ  
וּלְמַעַן הָקִים אֶת־הַדְּבָר  
אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה לְאַבְרָהָם לְיִצְחָק וּלְיַעֲקֹב:

*Comment:* This example is interesting as the לַמַּעַן final construction forms part of a adversative sentence. The first part also serve as matrix for the final construction. The second part of this adversative sentence consists of two elements: Firstly, Yahweh supplies a reason and, secondly, the purpose (aim) of his action. This second element is expressed by a syndetic לַמַּעַן final sentence. The matrix consists of a qatal verbal form, therefore one would expect that the final sentence will have an infinitive, which is the case. The final sentence thus supplies the motive of a past action.

#### 4.6.8 Co-ordination by Means of a Weqatal Chain Following *We* לַמַּעַן

I have earlier discussed these examples in detail (section 4.4.3.2.6).

#### 4.6.9 Co-ordination by Means of a WeYiqtol Chain Following *We* לַמַּעַן

I have already discussed these examples (section 4.4 3.2.6). It should be added that the corpus is very small and one should be careful with drawing conclusions. It appears though, from these examples, that it would be syntactically possible that co-ordination could be achieved through a chain of weyiqtols following לַמַּעַן, although this seem to be a construction which has either fallen into misuse, or was a later development.

#### 4.6.10 Summary of Syntactic Features of Co-ordinated Conjunctive Final Constructions

- (i) The varied ways in which the diverse constructions with לַמַּעַן could be co-ordinated show their interrelatedness.
- (ii) Co-ordination takes place only among constructions on the same syntactic level. Therefore, the fact that לַמַּעַן yiqtol is co-ordinated with לַמַּעַן infinitive shows that the two are syntactically the similar or at least on the same syntactic level. The same



would apply for co-ordination between a לְמַעַן final sentence and weqatal and thus provides further support to the contention that weqatal is not confined to mainline use.

- (iii) If an infinitive construction is co-ordinated with the לְמַעַן yiqtol the infinitive construction is always the first member in the co-ordinated pair.<sup>39</sup> In such cases there are also no subject changes between the matrix and the final sentence, so that the first final sentence can be translated as “in order to”.
- (iv) There are no instances of a co-ordinated chain of more than two conjunctive לְמַעַן constructions are used consecutively.
- (v) A writer uses different co-ordinated possibilities to affect different semantic nuances and not merely for stylistic reasons. By coordinating a לְמַעַן yiqtol construction with a לְמַעַן infinitive the writer changes the tense of the construction from past to future. I have argued in sections 4.4.4.3 and 4.4.4.6 that לְמַעַן infinitive constructions, because it has a qatal in the matrix conveys the past events, whereas לְמַעַן yiqtol construction express future events. The writer’s choice of using yiqtol or infinitive is also dependent on the mood (s)he wishes to express.
- (vi) Besides the לְמַעַן constructions, אֲשֶׁר yiqtol is also used, and there appears to be no functional difference between the אֲשֶׁר yiqtol and the לְמַעַן yiqtol constructions. אֲשֶׁר is used in these cases as a final conjunction in the same way as the final conjunctions discussed in this chapter. These אֲשֶׁר constructions are not very common though, and their usage appears to be motivated by stylistic considerations. It is used in cases where another conjunctive final construction is needed and the writer has exhausted his other, more common options (Deuteronomy 6:1-3).

<sup>39</sup>Except Deuteronomy 9:5.

#### 4.7 ASYNDETIK לְמַעַן CONSTRUCTIONS

Two consecutive לְמַעַן constructions are not necessarily co-ordinated. An indication to their relationship is whether the second לְמַעַן is syndetic or asyndetic. It was shown previously that syndetic לְמַעַן / בְּעֵבוּר may be co-ordinated to a variety of final constructions. What is the relationship between a final sentence followed by an asyndetic לְמַעַן final sentence? I will explore this question below.

The following are examples of the construction under discussion. Exodus 33:13, Joshua 4:25, 11:20, Deuteronomy 17:20, Ezra 20:26, 1 Kings 2:3-4, Nehemiah 6:13.

Exodus 33:13

13 וַעֲתָה אֶסְכֵּנָא מִצָּאתַי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ  
הוֹדַעְנִי נָא אֶת־דֶּרֶכְךָ  
וְאֶדְעֶךָ  
לְמַעַן אֶמְצָא־חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ  
וְרָאָה כִּי עֲמֹךְ הַגּוֹי הַזֶּה:

*Comment:* In this verse there are two final sentences. The first one has volition in the matrix followed by a conjunctionless final sentence. The entire construction, then, forms the matrix of the conjunctive לְמַעַן final sentence. Notice that in the conjunctive final sentence the 1<sup>st</sup> person verbal form is atypical with a conjunctive לְמַעַן construction.<sup>40</sup> The writer, however, has to use a conjunctive לְמַעַן because the language cannot express this particular nuance with a conjunctionless final construction. It can only co-ordinate two conjunctionless final sentences (Genesis 27:7) but to make the second final to all that precede is only possible with לְמַעַן. (Cf. Genesis 27:4, 27:25). The same situation obtains when two conjunctive לְמַעַן

<sup>40</sup>Compare also Nehemiah 6:13 where an asyndetic לְמַעַן (1<sup>st</sup> person) follows another לְמַעַן infinitive. The first לְמַעַן forms part of the matrix to the second לְמַעַן. Again the writer is obligated to use לְמַעַן 1<sup>st</sup> person as it is not possible to realise this relation with a conjunctionless final construction.



constructions follow one another. The second is then final to the preceding passage which includes the first final sentence (cf. 1 Kings 2:3-4).

1 Kings 2:3-4

3 וְשָׁמַרְתָּ אֶת־מִשְׁמֶרֶת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ  
לָלֶכֶת בְּדַרְכָּיו לְשָׁמֵר חֻקָּתָיו מִצְוֹתָיו וּמִשְׁפָּטָיו וְעֵדוּתָיו  
כַּכְתוּב בְּתוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה  
לְמַעַן תִּשְׁכִּיל אֶת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשֶׂה  
וְאֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר תִּפְנֶה שָׁם  
4 לְמַעַן יָקִים יְהוָה אֶת־דְּבָרוֹ אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר עָלַי לֵאמֹר  
אִם־יִשְׁמְרוּ בְנֵיךָ אֶת־דִּרְכָּם  
לָלֶכֶת לִפְנֵי בְּאֻמַּת כָּל־לְבָבָם וּבְכָל־נַפְשָׁם  
לֵאמֹר לֹא־יָכַרְתָּ לָּךְ אִישׁ מֵעַל כִּסֵּא יִשְׂרָאֵל:

*Comment:* Two conjunctive *לְמַעַן* sentences follow one another in close succession. The second *לְמַעַן* sentence is asyndetic. This means that it is not co-ordinated, but syntactically dependent on the previous final construction. The first final sentence has consequences for the second. In other words, Israel's prosperity is the means by, or the necessary prerequisite, for Yahweh to raise up his word. The second final sentence is therefore not co-ordinated to, but dependent on, the first.

#### 4.8 NEGATED CONJUNCTIONAL FINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

It appears from a perusal of some examples, that *לְמַעַן* yiqtol is negated by the conjunction *כִּן* and *לְמַעַן* infinitive by *לֹא־לִבְלֹתִי*. These forms, however, do not form part of this investigation. There are cases, nonetheless, where *לְמַעַן* is negated by the negative particle *לֹא*. These cases will now be briefly considered. Numbers 17:5, Deuteronomy 20:18, Ezekiel 14:11, 19:9, 25:10, 26:20, 31:13-14, 36:30, 46:18, Zechariah 12:7, Psalm 119:11, 119:80, 125:3.

Two different constructions are distinguished:

#### 4.8.1 לֹא + yiqtol

Ezekiel 14:10-11

10 וְנִשְׁאָו עֵינֶם כַּעֲשׂוֹן הַדֹּרֶשׁ כַּעֲשׂוֹן הַנָּבִיא יְהוָה:  
 11 לֹא־יִתְּעוּ עוֹד בֵּית־יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאַחֲרֵי  
 וְלֹא־יִטְמְאוּ עוֹד בְּכָל־פְּשָׁעֵיהֶם  
 וְהָיוּ לִי לְעָם  
 וְאֲנִי אֶהְיֶה לָּהֶם לֵאלֹהִים  
 נָאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה: פ

*Comment:* In this sentence, as in most of the negated sentences, the matrix consists of a speech by Yahweh (beginning in verse 6). The final sentence concludes this speech and also states the purpose (intended result) of Yahweh's proposed action (see also Ezekiel 25:10, 31:13-14). Notice that the final sentence לֹא־יִתְּעוּ is co-ordinated to another final sentence וְלֹא־יִטְמְאוּ which is not preceded by לֹא־יִתְּעוּ (compare also Ezekiel 31:13-14). This construction is followed by a weqatal which expresses a real result. The final sentences are negated by לֹא and not אַל. The function of negated final sentences is to prevent an action or an undesired state of affairs from continuing. This function is sometimes strengthened by the addition of the particle עוֹד (see also Ezekiel 19:9, 36:30). Other examples: Ezekiel 19:9, 25:10, 26:20, Zechariah 12:7, Psalm 119:11, 80, Psalm 125:3.

#### 4.8.2 לֹא־אֲשֶׁר + yiqtol

Deuteronomy 20:17-18

17 כִּי־הִחָרַם תַּחֲרִימֵם  
 הַחֲתִי וְהָאֻמִּי הַכְּנַעֲנִי וְהַפְּרָזִי הַחִוִּי וְהַיְבוּסִי  
 כָּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ:  
 18 לֹא־יִלְמְדוּ אֶתְכֶם לַעֲשׂוֹת כָּכָל תוֹעֵבָתָם  
 אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ לֵאלֹהֵיהֶם וַחֲטֹאתָם לִיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: ס

*Comment:* The negated final sentence includes the relative אֲשֶׁר. There does not appear to be a functional difference with those negated final sentences without אֲשֶׁר. The function is also



to “stop doing an action.” Other examples: Numbers 17:5, Deuteronomy 20:18, Ezekiel 31:13-14, Ezekiel 36:30, Ezekiel 46:18.

#### 4.8.3 Summary of the Syntactic Features of Negated Final Constructions

These sentences are always negated by  $\text{לֹא}$  and never by  $\text{אֵין}$ . Consequently, they express the function to “discontinue with an action or practice.” The verbal form following  $\text{לֹא}$  is always yiqtol with no instances of the infinitive. The number of the verb is mostly 3<sup>rd</sup> person with one instance of a 2<sup>nd</sup> person verb (Ezekiel 26:20) and two instances of 1<sup>st</sup> person verbal forms (Psalm 119:11, 80).

### 4.9 THE SYNTAX OF CONJUNCTIONAL FINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Here I will systematically outline the key insights gained from the discussion of conjunctional final constructions.

4.9.1 Conjunctional final constructions are two-element syntactic constructions consisting of a matrix and a final sentence. The order is usually Matrix/“Nachsatz”. The conjunction always takes initial position in the final sentence except for two cases:

4.9.1.1 When the final sentence includes a conjunction  $\text{וְ}$ . Exodus 20:20 (in these cases, incidentally, the order is reversed “Nachsatz”/Matrix).

4.9.1.2 When the final sentence is introduced by the interrogative particle  $\text{אִם}$ . 2 Samuel 18:18.

4.9.2 Conjunctional final constructions can be divided into two main categories based on whether the verbal form in the final sentence is an infinitive or a finite verb (yiqtol).

4.9.3 The above two categories cover different functions and are not interchangeable. The following are perhaps the most telling distinguishing characteristics of the two groups.

- 4.9.3.1 There is the difference in tense between the groups. The infinitival group, because of the qatal in the matrix, refers to past action, whereas the yiqtol group expresses future intentions.
- 4.9.3.2 Different verbal forms occupy the matrix of the individual groups. In לִמְעַן yiqtol constructions mainly “Aufforderung” following weqatal. In לִמְעַן infinitive constructions mainly qatal.
- 4.9.3.3 The function of the לִמְעַן infinitive group is purpose rather than result as there usually is no subject change between the matrix and the final sentence.
- 4.9.4 Where the conjunctive final construction has a finite verb in the “Nachsatz” we notice the following characteristics.
- 4.9.4.1 In the majority of these examples the matrix has a volitional form.
- 4.9.4.2 In some of these cases the governing verbs in the matrix are followed by weqatal chains.
- 4.9.4.3 The constructions are restricted to direct speech.
- 4.9.5 In conjunctive final constructions, in which an infinitive follows the final conjunction, the following characteristics are displayed:
- 4.9.5.1 The final constructions are not restricted to a volitional form in the matrix as in the former group.
- 4.9.5.2 This group exhibits a greater variety of verbal forms that can occupy the matrix as it covers both narrative and discourse.
- 4.9.5.3 In most cases, no subject change occurs between the matrix and the final sentence so that these forms can be translated “in order to”, so that the semantic function of purpose rather than result is the overriding function in this group.
- 4.9.5.4 Certain constructions are unique to this group, e.g., narrative comment.



4.9.6 There does not appear to be any functional differences between the various verbal person (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person), though the 1<sup>st</sup> person only appears with conjunctive constructions under certain conditions.

4.9.7 Different types of conjunctions introduce the conjunctive final sentences. Most common is *לְמַעַן*. There are also examples with, *לְבַעֲבוֹר*, *לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר*, *בְּעַבְוֹר אֲשֶׁר*. This study has not identified any functional differences between the groups. This claim is corroborated by the fact that different conjunctive constructions are co-ordinated which suggest they are syntactically equal. I would like to propose that *בְּעַבְוֹר* is the older archaic conjunctive expression and was later replaced by *לְמַעַן*. My motivation for this contention is based on the following factors:

4.9.7.1 The conjunction *בְּעַבְוֹר* does not appear at all in Deuteronomy, Ezekiel and Jeremiah where *לְמַעַן* is very common.

4.9.7.2 Some of the *בְּעַבְוֹר* forms appear to be archaic, e.g., *לְבַעֲבוֹר*

4.9.7.3 In Deuteronomy, the writer uses *אֲשֶׁר* for co-ordinated conjunctive final sentence and does not seem to know *בְּעַבְוֹר*.

4.9.8 The distinction between purpose and result in final constructions is difficult to define. There are some indicators, however.

4.9.8.1 If there is no subject change between the matrix and the final sentence the function of the “Nachsatz” is purpose.

4.9.8.2 The distinction is also based on the verbs used. The verbal root *יָדַע* seems to indicate a result in most cases. The same applies for the verbal root *כָּעַס*.

4.9.9 Weqatal follows verbal conjunctive final sentences in a number of cases. Should it be understood as a co-ordinated final sentence? This study seems to suggest so. Weqatal in such cases is co-ordinated to the preceding conjunctive final sentence. There is also a difference in mood between the weqatal and the preceding final sentence. The final sentence is modal, expressing intended result or purpose whereas the following weqatal is indicative expressing result or consequence.

#### 4.10 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing summary of the syntax of conjunctive final constructions, it is clear that most of the objectives set for this chapter have been met. In the above chapter I have:

- 4.10.1 Identified and described the syntax of conjunctive final constructions;
- 4.10.2 Shown conclusively that conjunctive final constructions occur both in narrative and discourse texts;
- 4.10.3 On the basis of the evidence supplied in the examples I have had to alter my initial thesis concerning weqatal. Weqatal is not restricted to mainline only but can also appear in final constructions. Weqatal however only appear as a consecutive final sentence after the initial conjunctive construction;
- 4.10.4 It is difficult to differentiate between purpose and result in final sentences. Conjunctive final sentences, because they are modal, mostly express purpose instead of result. One should differentiate between intended and real result. When the conjunctive final sentence is co-ordinated with a weqatal, the former is modal and expresses intended result or purpose whereas the latter is indicative and expresses a real result or consequence. It appears also that in cases where there is no subject



change between the matrix and the final sentence, one is more likely to interpret a purpose rather than a result sentence.

I will now turn to the discussion of the conjunctionless final constructions in Chapter 5.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONJUNCTIONLESS FINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will discuss conjunctionless final constructions. The term conjunctionless is problematic, as such constructions are syntactically dependent on syndesis in the final sentence. *Waw* could, of course, also be considered as a conjunction. In this study, however, since *waw* is prefixed directly to the verb, unlike the conjunctions I have dealt with in Chapter 3, it will not be considered as a conjunction. As with the examples of the conjunctive, conjunctionless final constructions are also two-element constructions.

Kuhr's (1929) seminal work *“Die Ausdrucksmittel der konjunktionslosen Hypotaxe in der ältesten hebräischen Prosa,”* forms the basis for the particular approach to the treatment of conjunctionless final constructions that will be followed in this chapter. According to Kuhr, the key to understanding “Hypotaxe,” i.e., sub-ordination in Biblical Hebrew, is “Satzstellung.” Juxtaposing sentences in a particular way, is one of the ways Biblical Hebrew constructs sub-ordinated clauses. Biblical Hebrew realizes sub-ordination either by the principle of “Eingliederung,” imbedding, or “Angliederung,” i.e., annexation. Final sentences are constructed according to the latter criterion. Stipp (1987, 137) applied Kuhr's principles and constructed the following paradigm for hypotaxes, which I have slightly modified and used to construct a syntactic paradigm for conjunctionless final constructions in Biblical Hebrew.

1. Im “Vordersatz”: “Aufforderung”, ausgedrückt durch Imperativ, a-Form  
der Präfixkonjugation (Kohortativ, nur bei 1. Ps), w=qatal/x-yiqtul (LF)



(Injunktiv) oder PK(-KF) (Jussiv), sowie die Ausdrucksmittel der negierten “Aufforderung” lo(’)+ (PK) (-LF) und al + PK(-KF) (Vetitiv).  
Liegt keine kurzformfähige Verbalform vor, muss die Funktion “Aufforderung” durch den Kontext zweifelsfrei abgesichert sein.

## 2. Im “Nachsatz”: we=PK-KF

It would be possible to add the infinitive absolute to Stipp’s list of verbs that can express volition, though I have not come across any examples of conjunctionless final constructions in which an infinitive absolute occupies the matrix. I have argued in Chapter 4 that, contrary to Stipp, weqatal does not appear independently in the matrix, but as part of a verbal chain.<sup>1</sup> With conjunctionless final constructions, however, the instances of a weqatal verbal chain following an imperative in the matrix are far less numerous than in conjunctive final constructions.

Kuhr has argued that “Satzstellung” is one of the markers of sub-ordination. Stipp’s contribution was to point out that the verbal sequences involved might also play a role. A further important factor in the syntactic formation of conjunctionless final constructions is the role of syndesis/asyndesis.<sup>2</sup>

I wish to show in the ensuing discussion that in conjunctionless final constructions, the verbal form in the “Nachsatz” is always syndetic (yiqtol and mostly, but not exclusively, cohortative in the 1<sup>st</sup> person - assuming the verb has no object suffix; in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, the verbal form is usually shortform in cases where the long and short forms can be morphologically differentiated). The verbal forms which occupy the final sentence are either 1<sup>st</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

<sup>1</sup>We have seen in Chapter 4 that although weqatal often forms part of the verbal chain in the matrix, it never governs the chain as the imperative does.

<sup>2</sup>I do not support Niccacci’s claim that sub- or co-ordination does not depend on *waw* at all (section 2.5.1.4). Conjunctionless final sentences which are essentially sub-ordinated clauses, are all syndetic.

Qimron (1986-1987, 152) suggests that the short form of *yiqtol* in the final sentence (in 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons) is due to the presence of the *waw*, but this is questionable as the presence of the *waw* seems to have the direct opposite effect on the morphology of the verb in the 1<sup>st</sup> person. In the 1<sup>st</sup> person the normal form is a syndetic elongated cohortative form instead of the shorter form. Some scholars consider the short forms of the prefix conjugation as the remnants of a third Biblical Hebrew tense, and have tried to syntactically differentiate the short from the long form of the prefix conjugation<sup>3</sup> and ascribe different syntactic functions to them. In this study, although I have not identified contrasting syntactic functions for the two groups, I have noted that the short and long forms are differentiated on the basis that they do not have the same verbal status.<sup>4</sup> I have applied this in the description of 1<sup>st</sup> person final sentences.<sup>5</sup>

## 5.2 OBJECTIVES

In the following I have outlined some objectives for this chapter, based on the hypotheses and methodological and theoretical assumptions presented in Chapter 3.

- 5.2.1 To identify and describe the syntactic constructions which are unique to conjunctionless final constructions.
- 5.2.2 To test the notion that *yiqtol* (prefix conjugation short form) is always the verbal form used in conjunctionless final constructions with 3<sup>rd</sup> person verbal forms in the “Nachsatz”, whereas the cohortative appears in the “Nachsatz” of the 1<sup>st</sup> person verbal forms.
- 5.2.3 To test the contention that the matrix of conjunctionless final constructions always contain either a verbal form expressing “Aufforderung” or an interrogative sentence and that conjunctionless final constructions are restricted to discourse.

<sup>3</sup>See Rössler (1961), Richter (1966, 1978) and Gross (1982), for example. See also Gross’s recent discussion of Rössler and Richter (1996, 17-19).

<sup>4</sup>See the discussion in section 5.9. One could argue that this distinction has definite syntactic implications.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. section 5.8.



5.2.4 To determine whether conjunctive and conjunctionless final constructions cover different domains by comparing the findings of this chapter with those of the previous chapter.

5.2.5 To validate my hypothesis formulated in section 3.4.4.1 concerning the two conditions that must prevail for a final relation to be realised between successive verbal forms.

### 5.3 METHODOLOGY

The data for this study have been gathered through a careful reading of the text corpus, Genesis to 2 Kings. Poetic texts present in the corpus were not considered. In addition, a search was made using Eep Talstra's Quest program. The latter method, though more expedient, unfortunately proved to be less reliable because the accuracy of the search is dependent on the parameters entered by the researcher into the computer program. Because language is not static, with many exceptions to the rules, it is thus not always easy to define parameters. Though I do not claim absolute accuracy, I am fairly convinced that most of the relevant constructions have been identified with minimal exceptions, if any.

In conjunctionless final constructions, distinct categories will be differentiated on the basis of:

- (i) The verbal forms that occupy the matrix. This is done in order to assess whether the matrixes of conjunctionless final constructions are restricted to interrogative or volitional forms. In each case, the kind of volitional form and the type of interrogative sentences will be indicated. Identification of the verbal form in the matrix will allow one to determine the differences between conjunctive and conjunctionless constructions.
- (ii) The construction occurring in the final sentence. I intend showing that this construction is syntactically definite:<sup>6</sup> *Waw* + Prefix conjugation (short form for 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person, cohortative for 1<sup>st</sup> person). Distinction will be made between the



different person forms of the verb in the final sentence (e.g., 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person) in order to test my hypothesis that the conjunctive and conjunctionless final constructions can be differentiated according to the markedness (for person) of the verb used in the matrixes. I have shown in Chapter 4 that in conjunctive final constructions the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons predominate, with the 1<sup>st</sup> person negligible. I suspect to find in my investigation of conjunctionless final sentences that the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> are the most common forms, with the 2<sup>nd</sup> person less prevalent.

I will analyze each conjunctionless construction using the above criteria, since, with regard to (i) above, traditional grammars have failed to analyze and describe the matrix of final constructions, and what influence this matrix has for the form and function of the final construction. The second criterion, i.e., the construction occurring in the final sentence, is also important, as in conjunctive final constructions there is no conjunction that marks the construction as final. As such, translations of such constructions often present difficulties as a wide variety of constructions are translated as expressing a final relation. Beside the mentioned criteria or categories, such syntactic indicators as contact and non-contact position, subject change between the matrix and final sentence, volition or non-volition in the matrix, will also be employed when analyzing conjunctionless final constructions. However, they will not assume the dominant role which they did in Chapter 4. In that chapter, they were used merely as a means to initially distinguish between the variety of conjunctive final constructions, for which no distinguishing characteristics were readily available. Now that such categories have been tested and established, it is necessary to focus on categories which I believe will yield meaningful results for the investigation into conjunctionless final constructions. I have identified four such categories for the conjunctionless final constructions. These are:

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<sup>6</sup>Cf. Chapter 4, footnote 5.



|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| <b>Category A</b> | The matrix is occupied by an “Aufforderung”. The final sentence is occupied by a 1 <sup>st</sup> person prefix conjugation form (Cohortative singular or plural).         |
| <b>Category B</b> | The matrix of this category is similar to that of category A. The difference is in the final sentence where the verbal form is prefix conjugation 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. |
| <b>Category C</b> | This category differs from A and B in that an interrogative sentence constitutes the matrix.  |
| <b>Category D</b> | In this category, the final sentences are negated.  |

I deemed it necessary to identify different categories for the conjunctionless group as I expect the syntax to differ markedly. Also, whereas conjunctive final constructions, as was seen in Chapter 4, occur in both discourse and narrative, I suspect conjunctionless constructions to be restricted to discourse. The absence of a conjunction in the latter group could also influence its syntax.

After treating the above with appropriate examples, I will explore some related constructions which are sometimes interpreted and consequently translated as final, but do not really satisfy the criteria stipulated for conjunctionless final constructions. This is necessary, because, as we have seen in Chapter 2, that although many different constructions in Biblical Hebrew are translated as final sentences into English, it is to be doubted if they fulfill the syntactic criteria in Biblical Hebrew to be interpreted as such. This problem becomes even greater in conjunctionless final constructions, where there are no specific conjunction to mark them as final sentences.

## 5.4 CATEGORY A: MATRIX: “AUFFORDERUNG” + “NACHSATZ” 1<sup>ST</sup> PERSON

This group is by far the most numerous. We have seen in Chapter 4 that there are only 12 cases of conjunctive final sentences in the 1<sup>st</sup> person (compared to the total number of 133 לְמַעַן *yiqtol* final sentences). I have also shown in the previous chapter that the final conjunction followed by the 1<sup>st</sup> person verbal form occurs only under certain conditions. I will attempt to demonstrate that, in order to express a final sentence with a 1<sup>st</sup> person verbal form in the “Nachsatz”, Biblical Hebrew uses the conjunctionless construction. In Chapter 4 I have stipulated the conditions or situations under which the 1<sup>st</sup> person verbal form is used with the conjunctive construction.<sup>7</sup>

### 5.4.1 “Aufforderung” + *weEqla*<sup>8</sup> (1<sup>st</sup> Person, Singular)

The plural forms of the 1<sup>st</sup> person final sentences are more numerous than the singular. The following are all the texts from Genesis to 2 Kings.

Genesis 12:1, 17:1-2, 18:4-5, 18:32, 23:4, 24:2-3, 24:14, 24:49, 24:56, 29:21, 30:3, 30:25, 30:26, 30:28, 32:10, 34:12, 37:13, 42:13, 44:21, 45:18, 49:1, Exodus 3:10, 9:28, 24:12, 32:10, 33:6, 33:13, Deuteronomy 1:13, 4:10, 5:31, 9:14, Numbers 21:16, 22:19, 23:3, Joshua 18:4, Judges 7:14, 11:37, 16:26, 16:28, 1 Samuel 7:5, 9:26, 9:27, 12:7, 15:16, 15:25, 17:44, 27:5, 28:7, 28:22, 30:15, 2 Samuel 13:10, 19:38, 20:16, 20:21, 24:12, 1 Kings 11:21, 13:7, 17:10, 18:1, 2 Kings 4:22, 6:13, 6:20, 18:23.

#### 5.4.1.1 Standard (Imperative + Cohortative)

1 Samuel 15:16

16 וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל אֶל-שָׁאוּל  
הֲרַף וְאַנִּידָה לְךָ אֶת אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֵלַי הֲלִילָה  
וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ דִּבֶּר: ס

<sup>7</sup>See 4.4.3.3.4.

<sup>8</sup>I use nomenclature based on the qatal conjugation, i.e., the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular is *Eqla* and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural is *Niqla*.



*Comment:* Both the matrix and the final sentence consist of a single verb. The matrix is occupied by an imperative  $\text{עֲמֵד}$  and the final sentence by a cohortative  $\text{אֲנִי מְדַבֵּר}$ . Other examples show that this verbal arrangement is fairly standard for these constructions. The matrix and the “Nachsatz” of the construction are in contact position.<sup>9</sup> The cohortative  $\text{אֲנִי מְדַבֵּר}$  is sub-ordinated to and therefore dependent on  $\text{עֲמֵד}$ . The RSV and NIV translate the two verbs under discussion as simply co-ordinated, “Stand and let me show you”. So also the KJV. The RSV and NRSV translate the imperatives  $\text{עֲמֵד}$  as an interjection and ignores the syndetic relation between the two verbs, thus translating, “Stop! I will tell you.”

Despite the fact that the translations in question fail to show a sub-ordinated, dependent relationship between the two verbs, I maintain that this is a final relation based on similar examples. On the basis of these considerations, the final construction in 1 Sam 15:16 must be translated as ... “Stand, so that I may show you ...” There are other cases of conjunctionless final constructions (see also the next example 2 Kings 18:23), where, although the construction meets the syntactic criteria to qualify as a final relation, English translations fail to interpret them as such. I would like to suggest a possible reason for this. Conjunctionless final constructions are formed by the syndetic juxtaposition of two verbal forms, which have to meet certain syntactic criteria (e.g., the first verb has to be a form expressing volition, the second has to be syndetic, *yiqtol*, etc.). When, despite meeting all the grammatical and syntactic criteria, the construction is often not translated as a final sentence into English, the answer could be found in the semantics of the verbs involved. It is likely that a dependency cannot be derived unambiguously from the meaning of the verbs involved in the construction. If this is indeed the case, it illustrates that both semantic and syntactic criteria need to be taken into account when one interprets final constructions. It appears that the translators were

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<sup>9</sup>See Talstra 1997, 81-103.



guided by semantic criteria alone in their interpretation of 1 Samuel. A consideration of both semantic and syntactic criteria will result in greater consistency in translations of final sentences.

The distinction between contact and non-contact position has definite implications for the grammatical description of the construction. Final sentences in contact position are usually described in terms of what Talstra (1997, 81) refers to as clause-level grammatical description. In the instances where the final sentence is in non-contact position, very often separated from its governing verb, a text-level grammatical analysis is called for (1997, 88).

#### 5.4.1.2 Examples Where the Verb in the Matrix is Preceded by the Particle **וְעַתָּה**

2 Kings 18:23

23 וְעַתָּה הִתְעַרְבֵנָּה אֶת־אֲדֹנִי אֶת־מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר  
וְאַתָּנָה לָךְ אֲלֵפִים סוּסִים  
אִם־תּוּכַל לָתֵת לָךְ רֶכֶבִּים עֲלֵיהֶם:

*Comment:* The matrix **הִתְעַרְבֵנָּה** is preceded by **וְעַתָּה**. A possible reason for this is to draw a conclusion from the preceding and therefore highlight what is to follow. Waltke and O'Connor (1990, 578) refer to **וְעַתָּה** as a logical particle.<sup>10</sup> The idea of “Aufforderung” is supported by the addition of the particle **נָא** in the matrix. This particle is referred to as a precative particle, and is often used in conjunction with **וְעַתָּה**. The matrix and the final sentence are in contact position, and both elements are in direct speech. As in the previous example, there is a subject change between the matrix and the final sentence. Likewise, the majority of the translators do not interpret this as a final construction. The KJV translates coordinated sentences, “Give pledges to the king of Assyria, and I will deliver two thousand

<sup>10</sup>According to van der Merwe (1997, 144), “וְעַתָּה” as a rule introduces a logical consequence of a foregoing state of affairs, introduced by a verb with a directive function e.g. an imperative. Cf. Also van der Merwe (1994, 28).



horses.” Similarly NSRV and NIV do not see a dependent relation between הַתַּעֲרָב and וְאֶתְּנָה. They render, “Come make a wage: I will ...”.

Like the previous example, 1 Samuel 15:16, it appears that the syntactic criteria, i.e., volition in the matrix and weyiqtol in the “Nachsatz” are not sufficient ground for translators to interpret a construction as expressing a final relation. Likewise, semantic considerations, as in 1 Samuel 15:16, appear to have been the determining factors in the interpretation of this construction. Other examples: Exodus 32:10, 33:6, 33:13, Numbers 22:19, 1 Samuel 9:27, 12:7, 12:10, 15:25, 26:11, 28:22.

#### 5.4.1.3 Often the Volition in the Matrix is Reinforced by the Particle נָא.

The following example illustrates this point.

2 Kings 4:22

22 וַתִּקְרָא אֶל-אִשָּׁה וַתֹּאמֶר שְׁלַחָה נָא לִי  
אֶחָד מִן-הַנְּעָרִים וְאַחַת הָאֲתוֹנוֹת :  
וְאֶרְוֶצָה עִד-אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים וְאָשׁוּבָה

*Comment:* The particle נָא follows the imperative שְׁלַחָה in the matrix to further support the request. Lambdin (1971, 170) states: “The particle seems ... to denote that the command in question is a logical consequence, either of an immediately preceding statement or of the general situation in which it is uttered.” This particle is sometimes used as a sign of respect when a superior is addressed, and is often translated as “please”.

The final sentence has two consecutive cohortatives וְאֶרְוֶצָה and וְאָשׁוּבָה. I would suggest the following translation: “Send me one ... so that I may go to the man of God and return.”

The NRSV translates this construction as final “Send me one of the servants and one of the donkeys, so that I may quickly go to the man of God and come back to you.” Similarly the NIV and KJV. This example shows the inconsistency of the Bible translators. The syntax is

similar to the previous examples 1 Samuel 15:16 and 2 Kings 18:23, i.e., “Aufforderung” in the matrix followed by a cohortative in the “Nachsatz”, yet none of the translations rendered the previous examples as final. In the previous examples (1 Samuel 15:16, and 2 Kings 18:23), it appears that the translators ignored the syntax of the constructions and were guided in their interpretations solely by semantic considerations. This example, therefore, supports my contention that besides syntax, semantics also play a role in determining which constructions are to be translated as final sentences into English. Other examples: 1 Samuel 26:11, 28:22, 2 Samuel 17:5, 19:38, 1 Kings 17:10, 2 Kings 4:22, Genesis 18:4-5, 24:2-3, 26:28, Exodus 33:13, Judges 19:11, Numbers 22:19.

#### 5.4.1.4 Verbal Chain in Matrix (Imperative Chain)

We have noticed quite a number of conjunctive final constructions where the matrix is occupied by a verbal chain.<sup>11</sup> These examples are less numerous in the conjunctionless final constructions, where the matrix is often occupied by a single volition.

1 Samuel 15:25

25 וַעֲתָה שָׂא נָא אֶת־חַטָּאתִי וְשׁוּב עִמִּי  
וְאַשְׁחִיחַהּ לַיהוָה

*Comment:* Notice that the matrix is introduced by וַעֲתָה. The initial imperative שָׂא is co-ordinated with a second imperative וְשׁוּב which forms an imperative verbal chain in the matrix. Such constructions are more common in conjunctive final sentences, where verbal chains occur frequently in the matrix and the final sentence subsequently in non-contact position. The two imperatives שָׂא and וְשׁוּב are of the same verbal form and therefore on the same syntactic level. They are co-ordinated and not sub-ordinated. The “Nachsatz” of this final construction is וְאַשְׁחִיחַהּ. I suggest the following translation “And now, forgive my sin

<sup>11</sup>Cf. 4.4.3.1.1.



and return with me, so that I may worship the Lord.” The NRSV, NIV, and KJV translate similarly. Other examples: Genesis 18:4-5, 42:2, 45:18, Exodus 24:12, Deuteronomy 9:14, Judges 11:6, 16:28, 1 Kings 13:7, 18:1, 2 Kings 6:13.

#### 5.4.1.5 Verbal Chain in Matrix (Imperative, Followed by Qatal)

Judges 11:6

6 וַיֹּאמְרוּ לִיפְתָּח לְכָה וְהָיִיתָ לָנוּ לְקָצִין  
וְנִלְחָמָה בְּבָנֵי עַמּוֹן:

*Comment:* This example deserves special mention as the imperative לְכָה is followed by the weqatal וְהָיִיתָ instead of another imperative. The two verbs are co-ordinated and the weqatal as a continuation form expresses, “Aufforderung” as the governing imperative לְכָה in the matrix. The final sentence is occupied by the cohortative וְנִלְחָמָה. There is a subject change between the matrix and the final sentence. In terms of my criteria this construction expresses a final relation and may be translated as follows: “Come and be our commander, that we may fight ...” NIV, KJV and RSV support such a translation.

#### 5.4.1.6 There Are Few Examples Where the 1<sup>st</sup> Person Form in the Final is Not a Cohortative

1 Samuel 11:14

14 וַיֹּאמֶר שָׁמוּאֵל אֶל-הָעָם לָכוּ וְנִלְכָה הַגִּלְגָל  
וְנַחֲדֵשׁ שָׁם הַמְּלוּכָה:

*Comment:* This example is unusual as the final sentence is occupied by the non-cohortative form וְנַחֲדֵשׁ. Interesting also is that the matrix is occupied by the desemanticized<sup>12</sup> form לָכוּ. In order to create a final sentence the writer must ensure that the verbal status between the matrix and the final sentence differs. He is, therefore, obliged to use the non-cohortative form וְנַחֲדֵשׁ, which is of a different verbal status as the cohortative וְנִלְכָה in the matrix. Had the

<sup>12</sup>See the discussion on desemanticized verbs in section 5.8.

writer opted for a cohortative form, the construction would have consisted of two consecutive cohortatives, and hence would not have been final.<sup>13</sup> The cohortative is of a different syntactic status as the non-cohortative 1<sup>st</sup> person form. I would therefore translate the constructions as follows: “Come, let us go up to Gilgal, so that we may renew the kingship there.” The NSRV, NIV and KJV translate the two 1<sup>st</sup> person forms וְנִלְכָּה and וְנַחֲדֵשׁ as consecutive and not final. The translators therefore do not derive any syntactic significance from the morphological difference between the forms. There is no subject change between the matrix and the “Nachsatz” in the above construction.

#### 5.4.1.7 Sometimes Yiqtol Instead of the Imperative Occupies the Matrix

1 Samuel 27:5

5 וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל-אַכִישׁ אֲמֵן מִצָּאתַי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ  
 יִתְּנוּלִי מְקוֹם בְּאַחַת עָרֵי הַשְּׂדֵה  
 וְאֶשְׁבָּה שָׁם וְלִמָּה יֵשֵׁב עַבְדְּךָ  
 בְּעִיר הַמַּמְלָכָה עֹמֵד:

*Comment:* The matrix is occupied by the yiqtol יִתְּנוּ instead of the imperative. “Aufforderung” can also be realized by a yiqtol form.<sup>14</sup> Because David is addressing a superior, king Akish, the writer uses the “respectful” yiqtol form instead of the imperative to express David’s request (see also 2 Samuel 13:5 where a king is also addressed). It appears that when a superior is addressed, the “Aufforderung” is expressed by a polite request, expressed by a yiqtol, instead of a command - expressed by the imperative. The “Nachsatz” is occupied by the cohortative וְאֶשְׁבָּה, and there is a subject change between the matrix and the final sentence.

<sup>13</sup>See section 5.9.

<sup>14</sup>See Waltke and O’Connor (1990, 565 footnote 2). They draw attention to Jotun who suggests that one should distinguish between cohortative mood and cohortative form. Jotun further claims that the prefix conjugation may connote notions we may associate with the cohortative mood.



I have identified only two cases with *yiqtol* in the matrix (1 Samuel 27:5 and 3 Samuel 13:5) in the corpus. The NIV translation, “Let a place be assigned to me in one of the country towns, that I may live there ...” correctly captures the semantic meaning of the construction.

#### 5.4.2 “Aufforderung” + *weNigla* (1<sup>st</sup> Person, Plural)

This group is similar to the former group except that the verbal form in the final sentence is plural instead of singular. The constructions attested for in the above group (*weEgla*) are also applicable in this group. Because this type was treated in some detail previously, they will not be discussed again. I will only consider one appropriate example.

Examples: Genesis 19:5, 19:34, 26:28, 42:2, 47:19-20, 47:20, Exodus 14:2, 17:2, Judges 1:3, 11:6, 14:13, 18:5, 18:9, 19:11, 19:22, 19:28, 20:13, 1 Samuel 11:1, 11:12, 11:14, 12:10, 14:1, 6, 17:10, 26:11, 2 Samuel 14:7, 17:5, 2 Kings 6:38, 7:4, 7:10, 7:13.

1 Samuel 11:3

3 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו זְכֹנִי יִבִּישׁ  
הָרֶף לָנוּ שְׁבַעַת יָמִים  
וְנִשְׁלַח מִלְאָכִים בְּכָל גְּבוּל יִשְׂרָאֵל  
וְאִם-אֵין מוֹשִׁיעַ אֹתָנוּ  
וְיֵצְאוּנוּ אֵלֶיךָ:

*Comment:* The matrix is occupied by an imperative הָרֶף. The verbal form in the final sentence is a cohortative. The matrix and the final sentence are in contact position. There is a subject change between the matrix and the final. The final sentence expresses purpose as it is still an intention. This case is interesting as the final וְנִשְׁלַח is followed by a *weqatal* וְיֵצְאוּנוּ. The difference between the two forms is one of modality as was established in the previous chapter. The former is modal “that we *may* send” The *weqatal* is indicative “we *will* come out to you.” The *weqatal* expresses a result or consequence of the preceding action.

### 5.4.3 Summary of the Syntactic Features of Category A

- (i) The matrix is occupied by an imperative and in rare cases a yiqtol form. The yiqtol is used to express a polite request, in cases when the “Aufforderung” is directed to a superior, e.g., where a request is made to a king (1 Samuel 27:5, 2 Samuel 13:5).
- (ii) The logical particle  $\text{וְעַתָּה}$  sometimes precedes or introduces the entire matrix construction.
- (iii) The particle  $\text{וְעַתָּה}$  sometimes follows the verb in that matrix.
- (iv) In cases where there is a verbal chain in the matrix, the chain consists of two or three imperatives instead of the volition/weqatal constructions so common in conjunctive final sentences. The verbal chain also appears to be shorter than those in conjunctive final sentences composed at the most of three verbs whereas in the former group the verbal chain sometimes comprises an entire paragraph.
- (v) There is always a subject change between the matrix and the final sentence.
- (vi) The verbal form in the final sentence is, with rare exceptions, the cohortative form. If not the cohortative, there are definite syntactic grounds why the writer chooses the alternate form. See the discussion with regard to 1 Samuel 11:14.
- (vii) The final sentence and the matrix are mostly in contact position and, consequently, can be analyzed easily in terms of clause-level grammar.
- (viii) The interpretation of 1 Samuel 15:16 and 2 Kings 18:23 illustrates that in English translations, semantic considerations sometimes override syntactic consideration in determining what constitutes a final relation. In these examples, I have indicated that, although all the syntactic criteria are met for a final sentence to be realized, translators often do not translate the constructions as expressing a final relation in



English. In these cases, it appears that the translators are guided in their interpretations mainly by semantic considerations.

- (ix) All the constructions are in the direct speech, and the final cohortative is always syndetic.

## 5.5 CATEGORY B: MATRIX: “AUFFORDERUNG” + 3<sup>rd</sup> PERSON YIQTOL IN “NACHSATZ”

This group shows the greatest overlap with the conjunctive final constructions. In the following discussion I will follow the same pattern which I established in the discussion of category A. I will firstly describe cases which I consider to be the standard examples for construction B. Thereafter I will list and discuss examples which, although still construction B, deviates from this standard pattern. I will also attempt to show what nuances these deviations bring to the interpretation of construction B.

### 5.5.1 “Aufforderung” + 3<sup>rd</sup> Person

Genesis 1:6, 1:9, 20:7, 23:8-9, 30:3, 38:24, Exodus 2:20, 4:23, 5:1, 6:10, 7:16, 7:19, 7:26, 8:16, 9:13, 10:3, 10:7, 10:12, 10:17, 10:21, 12:3, 14:1, 14:15, 14:26, 25:2, 27:20, Leviticus 22:2, 42:2, 5:2, 10:35, 13:2, 17:2, 18:2, 19:2, Numbers 17:2, 21:7, 25:5, Deuteronomy 1:22, 10:11, Joshua 4:16, 18:4, Judges 6:30, 7:3, 9:19, 13:10, 14:15, 1 Samuel 5:1, 7:3, 10:17, 12:17, 18:21, 25:8, 28:2, 29:4, 2 Samuel 2:14, 3:21, 13:5, 1 Kings 2:17, 5:20, 13:6, 13:18, 15:19, 18:37, 21:2, 21:7, 21:10, 2 Kings 4:41-42, 5:8, 6:17, 6:20, 6:22, 9:17, 17:27, 19:19.

#### 5.5.1.1 Standard: “Aufforderung” + Yiqtol 3<sup>rd</sup> Person in “Nachsatz”

Exodus 8:16

16 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה הִשָּׁכֶם בַּבֹּקֶר וְהִתִּיצַב לִפְנֵי  
פְּרַעֲהַ הַנֶּה יוֹצֵא הַמִּימָה וְאָמַרְתָּ אֵלָיו  
כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה  
שְׁלַח עַמִּי  
וַיַּעֲבֹדְנִי:

*Comment:* The matrix is occupied by the imperative שֶׁלַח. The final sentence is introduced by the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural syndetic form וַיַּעֲבֹדְנִי. There is a subject change between the matrix and the final sentence. The entire construction is in direct speech and the final sentence is in contact position with the matrix. With the verb in the final sentence, וַיַּעֲבֹדְנִי it is not possible to distinguish morphologically between the long and short form of the prefix conjugation. Such cases will be considered as virtual short forms. The translations are unanimous in their interpretation of this construction as a final sentence; KJV: "... let my people go, that they may serve me." The NRSV and the NIV translations are identical: "... let my people go, so that they may worship me."

Genesis 1:6

6 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים  
יְהִי רָקִיעַ בְּתוֹךְ הַמַּיִם  
וַיְהִי מִבְדֵּיל בֵּין מַיִם לְמַיִם:

*Comment:* The "Aufforderung" in the matrix is expressed by a jussive יְהִי. The verb in the final sentence is also a syndetic jussive וַיְהִי. This is one of the rare examples in the corpus where there is no subject change between the matrix and the final sentence. There is also no change in verbal status. The features of this example are exceptional, since instances in which no subject change occurs between the matrix and final sentence are normally expressed by means of conjunctive final constructions with an infinitive in the "Nachsatz".<sup>15</sup> In the latter group, however, it is very seldom that a volitional form occupies the matrix. The NIV and RSV translate this construction as a purpose clause similar to the infinitive final sentences where there is no subject change between the matrix and the final sentence change: "Let there be an expanse between the waters to separate water from water." The KJV translates these

<sup>15</sup>See section 4.4.4.



constructions as consecutive: “Let there be a firmament and let it divide water from waters.”

Since there is no change in verbal status between the matrix and the final sentence, I would support the KJV translation. I am reluctant to interpret this particular construction as a final sentence.

#### 5.5.1.2 Final Constructions with the Long Form of the Prefix Conjugation in the “Nachsatz”

I have shown that the verbal form in the “Nachsatz” of conjunctionless final constructions are normally prefix conjugation short form, in the cases where the distinction long/short is morphologically discernable. I have also argued in the cases where the distinction cannot be made, the verbal form must be treated as a virtual short form. There are rare exceptions however, where the long form of the prefix conjugation occurs in the matrix.

1 Kings 15:19

19 בְּרִית בֵּינִי וּבֵינָהּ בֵּין אָבִי וּבֵין אָבִיהָ  
הָיָה שְׁלַחְתִּי לָהּ שָׁחַד כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב  
לָהּ הִפְרָה אֶת־בְּרִיתָהּ אֶת־בַּעֲשָׂא מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל  
וַיַּעֲלֶה מֵעָלָי:

*Comment:* In this sentence, the matrix is occupied by two imperatives הִפְרָה and לָהּ. The second imperative is, however, asyndetic where the expected form would be a syndetic construction. In such instances I suggest that the first imperative is desemanticized<sup>16</sup> and acts as an exclamation, or interjection “Come!” or “Auf!” in German. There is a subject change between the matrix and the final sentence. The form of וַיַּעֲלֶה is long where a short form is to be expected. It does not seem to change the meaning in any significant way, and I am unable to offer an explanation for this form. The translations are unanimous in their interpretation of this construction as a final construction, NRSV: “Go break your alliance with king Baasha of Israel, so that he may withdraw from me.” NIV: “Now break your treaty with Baasha king of

<sup>16</sup>See the discussion on desemanticized constructions in section 5.8.

Israel so he will withdraw from me (the NIV translation suggests that they interpreted this construction as a result rather than a purpose clause). KJV: “Come break thy league with Baasha king of Israel, that he may depart from me.”

#### 5.5.1.3 Cases Where the Matrix is Introduced by וַעֲתָה

Genesis 20:7

7 וַעֲתָה הָשֵׁב אִשְׁתְּהָאִישׁ כִּי־נָבִיא הוּא  
וַיִּתְפַּלֵּל בְּעֶדְךָ וַיְחַיֶּה וְאִם־אֵינְךָ מְשִׁיב דָּע  
כִּי־מוֹת תָּמוּת אֶתָּה וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־לְךָ:

*Comment:* As the examples with the 1<sup>st</sup> person<sup>17</sup> in the “Nachsatz”, וַעֲתָה can also precede final constructions where the verbal form of the “Nachsatz” is 3<sup>rd</sup> person. It is significant that examples where the matrix is introduced by וַעֲתָה are extremely uncommon in conjunctive final constructions. A possible explanation is that וַעֲתָה and נָא are markers associated with direct speech.<sup>18</sup> As conjunctionless final constructions occur solely in direct speech, they appear almost exclusively in this group. Other examples: Exodus 10:17, Judges 7:3, 1 Samuel 28:2.

#### 5.5.1.4 Sometimes the Volition is Followed by the Addition of נָא

2 Samuel 13:5

5 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ יְהוֹנָדָב  
שָׁכֵב עַל־מִשְׁכַּבְּךָ וְהִתְחַל  
וּבֹא אָבִיךָ לְרֹאוֹתְךָ וְאָמַרְתָּ אֵלָיו  
תָּבֹא נָא תָמַר אַחֹתִי  
וְתִבְרַנִּי לֶחֶם וְעָשְׂתָה לְעֵינַי אֶת־הַבְּרִיָּה  
לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר אֶרְאֶה  
וְאֶכְלֵתִי מִיָּדָה:

<sup>17</sup>See section 5.4.1.2.

<sup>18</sup>Waltke and O'Connor (1990, 634) refer to them as macro syntactic markers and claim that they function as introductory and transitional signals in dialogue.



*Comment:* The matrix is occupied by a yiqtol form **תָּבֵא**. This is followed by the particle **וְ**. The expression is used as a respectful way of addressing a superior; in this case the king (see also 1 Samuel 27:5). There are consecutive final sentences in the final construction. The first final sentence is a conjunctionless final sentence. This final construction consists of the yiqtol form **תָּבֵא** in the matrix. The “Nachsatz” is expressed by means of another weyiqtol form **וְתִבְרַנִּי**.

The second final sentence is a conjunctive construction introduced by **לְמַעַן**. The **לְמַעַן** is asyndetic, which means that it is not co-ordinated to the previous conjunctionless final sentence. A question that needs to be addressed is what constitutes the matrix of the second conjunctionless final sentence. My suggestion is that the matrix of this sentence is the entire preceding construction beginning with **וְתָבֵא** until **אֶת־הַבְּרִיָּה**. The conjunctive final sentence, according to this interpretation, thus includes an embedded conjunctionless final sentence. In the first final sentence, Amon explains what Jonadab should request of the king. The final sentence expresses the purpose why Tamar should be allowed to come to his room. In the second final sentence the narrator switches back from a 2<sup>nd</sup> person to a 1<sup>st</sup> person subject. Amon addresses Jonadab directly and explains his motive to him. The conjunctive final sentence with **לְמַעַן** is one of the rare occasions in which the 1<sup>st</sup> person is used in a conjunctive construction. This example further confirms my hypothesis regarding such cases established in Chapter 4.<sup>19</sup>

This example illustrates an important difference between conjunctive and conjunctionless final sentences. The latter are mainly in contact position and consequently operates primarily

<sup>19</sup>See section 4.4.3.3 where I argue that the 1<sup>st</sup> person “Nachsatz” is used only in exceptional cases with the conjunctive constructions.

at clause- and sentence-level, whereas the former must be analyzed on both clause and text-levels.<sup>20</sup> This illustrates why a textlinguistic perspective is crucial when one tries to understand final constructions. Other examples: 2 Samuel 2:14, 2 Kings 9:19.

#### 5.5.1.5 Example With a Cohortative in the Matrix

Genesis 34:23

23 מְקַנְהֵם וְקִנְיָנָם וְכָל-בְּהֶמְתָּם  
הָלֹא לָנוּ הֵם אֲדָי  
נְאוֹתָהּ לָהֶם  
וְיֵשְׁבוּ אִתָּנוּ:

*Comment:* In this example, a cohortative occupies the matrix. The final sentence is occupied by a yiqtol. The syntactic status of the verbs in the matrix and “Nachsatz” is, therefore, different. There is a subject change between the matrix and the final sentence. The two elements of the construction are in contact position. It is significant that none of the translations consulted, i.e., NRSV, NIV or KJV interpret this construction as a final sentence. They translate the verbs נְאוֹתָהּ and וְיֵשְׁבוּ as consecutive co-ordination. The NRSV translation is a typical example: “Only let us agree with them, and they will live among us.” This example is a classic case of the inconsistency with which Bible translators translate conjunctionless final sentences. I find the translation of Speiser (1981, 263), a better option than that of the Bibles mentioned, “So let us give in to them, that they may settle among us.” So also Westermann (1981, 150): “laß uns ihnen willfahren, daß sie bei uns wohnen bleiben!”

#### 5.5.1.6 Verbal Chain in the Matrix (Imperative Chain)

1 Kings 21:9-10<sup>21</sup>

9 וַתִּכְתֹּב בְּסֻפְרִים לֵאמֹר  
קְרֹא-אֶי-צֹם

<sup>20</sup>For discussion on the merits of text-level grammatical analysis versus clause-level analysis see Talstra (1997, 81-103).

<sup>21</sup> See also 5.5.1.



וְהוֹשִׁיבוּ אֶת־נְבוֹת בְּרֹאשׁ הָעָם:  
 10 וְהוֹשִׁיבוּ שְׁנַיִם אָנָשִׁים בְּנִי־בְלִיעַל נֶגְדוֹ  
 וַיַּעֲדָהוּ לֵאמֹר  
 בִּרְכָּתָ אֱלֹהִים וּמֶלֶךְ  
 וְהוֹצִיָּאָהוּ וְסָקְלָהוּ  
 וַיָּמָת:

*Comment:* The matrix consists of an imperative chain starting in verse 9 and which includes the imperatives קָרְאוּ, וְהוֹשִׁיבוּ, וְהוֹצִיָּאָהוּ and וְסָקְלָהוּ. The matrix and the final sentence וַיָּמָת are in non-contact position. This is caused by the qatal verb בִּרְכָּתָ which expresses “Vorvergangenheit.” Notice the subject change between the matrix and the final sentence and the change of verbal status. The NRSV and NIV translation of “stone him to death” is really only a semantic translation which reflects the logical relation between the verbs וְהוֹצִיָּאָהוּ and וַיָּמָת and as such do not do justice to the entire construction. The KJV version “that he may die,” is to be preferred.

#### 5.5.1.7 Co-ordinated Conjunctionless Constructions

1 Kings 13:18

18 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ גַם־אֲנִי נָבִיא כְּמוֹךָ וּמֶלֶאךָ  
 דַּבֵּר אֵלַי בְּדָבָר יְהוָה לֵאמֹר  
 הֲשִׁבָהוּ אִתָּךְ אֶל־בֵּיתְךָ  
 וַיֹּאכַל לֶחֶם  
 וַיִּשֶׁת מַיִם  
 כַּחַשׁ לוֹ:

*Comment:* The final construction consists of two co-ordinated sentences וַיִּשֶׁת and וַיֹּאכַל. The sentence הֲשִׁבָהוּ אִתָּךְ אֶל־בֵּיתְךָ constitutes the matrix. The two consecutive yiqtol are co-ordinated and should thus be translated as consecutive final constructions. The RSV translation correctly captures the construction “... Bring him back with you into your house that he may eat bread and drink water.”

## 2 Kings 6:22

22 וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא תִכֶּה הָאִשָּׁר שְׁבִית בְּחֶרֶבֶךָ וּבְקִשְׁתְּךָ  
 אֶתָּה מִכָּה שִׁים לָחֶם וְיַיִם לִפְנֵיהֶם  
 וַיֵּאָכְלוּ וַיִּשְׁתּוּ וַיֵּלְכוּ  
 אֶל־אֲדֹנֵיהֶם:

*Comment:* The construction consists of three co-ordinated final sentences וַיֵּלְכוּ וַיִּשְׁתּוּ וַיֵּאָכְלוּ which all express purpose. All three are yiqtol verbal forms and are syndetically connected. Based on these examples, it would appear that if a Biblical Hebrew writer wishes to coordinate conjunctionless final sentences, a chain of consecutive yiqtols are used after the initial final sentence. The consecutive chain refers to future events and expresses the speaker's intention, or the intended outcome of his instruction/command. In this instance, there is a subject change between the matrix and the final sentences. The yiqtol chain should be translated as consecutive final sentences, "that they may eat and drink and go to their master." Other examples: Deuteronomy 1:22, 10:11, 1 Samuel 18:21, Leviticus 22:2, 1 Kings 17:27, Genesis 30:3. 1 Samuel 18:21, 2 Kings 17:27, Genesis 30:3.

It appears that conjunctionless final constructions can be coordinated with a single or successive weyiqtols. We have seen in Chapter 4 that in the case of conjunctive final constructions the writer has three options to co-ordinate such constructions:

- (i) A conjunctive sentence can be co-ordinated with another conjunctive sentence.<sup>22</sup>
- (ii) A conjunctive sentence can be co-ordinated with a successive or a chain of consecutive weqatals.<sup>23</sup>
- (iii) There are the rare examples where a weyiqtol chain is co-ordinated with the initial conjunctive final sentence.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Cf. 4.6.1.



## Exodus 8:4

4 וַיִּקְרָא מֹשֶׁה לַמֶּלֶכַּה וּלְאַהֲרֹן וַיֹּאמֶר  
הִעֲתִירוּ אֶל־יְהוָה  
וַיִּסֶּר הַצִּפְרֹדִּים מִמֶּנִּי וּמֵעַמִּי  
וְאֲשַׁלַּח אֶת־הָעָם  
וַיִּזְבְּחוּ לַיהוָה:

*Comment:* This example presents significant problems. The first final construction has the hiphil imperative הִעֲתִירוּ in the matrix and hifil weyiqtol וַיִּסֶּר in the “Nachsatz”. It should therefore be translated, “Pray to Jahwe, that he may remove the frogs from us.”

The above final construction is followed by another conjunctionless final construction. The matrix of this second construction is the cohortative וְאֲשַׁלַּח and the “Nachsatz” is וַיִּזְבְּחוּ. This second final construction can therefore be translated as “... I will let the people go that they may worship Jahwe.”

The problem with this verse is to define the relationship between the two final constructions. Is the cohortative וְאֲשַׁלַּח coordinated with וַיִּסֶּר and, therefore, interpreted as the second element of a consecutive final chain consisting of the verbs וַיִּסֶּר, וְאֲשַׁלַּח and וַיִּזְבְּחוּ? In such an understanding the entire final construction is consequently governed and thus subordinated to the matrix הִעֲתִירוּ אֶל־יְהוָה. Such an interpretation will result in the following translation “Pray to Jahwe, that he may remove the frogs from me, so that I may let the people go, that they may worship Jahwe. My contention is that וְאֲשַׁלַּח is not co-ordinated to וַיִּסֶּר but to a chain introduced by הִעֲתִירוּ. This translation however, seems a bit contrived.

I find a second possibility more plausible. In this interpretation, the cohortative וְאֲשַׁלַּח is not co-ordinated to וַיִּסֶּר but is the second element of the verbal chain introduced by הִעֲתִירוּ.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. 4.4.3.2.6.

<sup>24</sup>Cf. Isaiah 41:19-20.

Both forms **הַעֲתִירוּ** and **וְאַשְׁלַחְהֶם** express “Aufforderung” which in terms of this study, do not express a final relation but should be coordinated (cf. 5.9). The chain, **הַעֲתִירוּ** followed by **וְאַשְׁלַחְהֶם** is interrupted by the sub-ordinated conjunctionless final sentence introduced by the verb **וְיִסַּר**. The second element of the chain **וְאַשְׁלַחְהֶם** also serves as the matrix of a second conjunctionless final construction which “Nachsatz” is **וְיִזְבְּחוּ**. To recap the syntax of the above construction: The chain consists of two verbs; the imperative **הַעֲתִירוּ** and the cohortative **וְאַשְׁלַחְהֶם**. The first final sentence **וְיִסַּר** is embedded in this chain. The “Nachsatz” of the second conjunctionless final sentence is **וְיִזְבְּחוּ**. The first element of the chain (the imperative **הַעֲתִירוּ**) has its own final sentence **וְיִסַּר**. In the above construction we thus have two consecutive conjunctionless final constructions. Such an interpretation is captured by the KJV translation “Entreat the Lord that he may take away the frogs from me and my people and I will let the people go, that they may sacrifice unto the Lord.” The NRSV translation also supports the above interpretation “Pray to the Lord to take away the frogs from me and my people, and I will let the people go and sacrifice to the Lord.”

Childs (1974, 123) also translates similarly “Pray to the Lord to remove the frogs from me and my people, and then I will let the people go to sacrifice to the Lord.” So also Durham (1987, 100) “Pray to Yahweh, that he may remove the frogs from me and my people; then I will send the people out, and they shall sacrifice to Yahweh.” Both Childs and Durham, by introducing the second final sentence with “then”, and “and then” interprets the second final construction as dependent and therefore the result of the first.



### 5.5.2 “Aufforderung” + 2<sup>nd</sup> Person

I identified one such case by means of Quest viz., Numbers 17:25. This example is text-critically problematic and correspondingly should not be considered as a final sentence. The text-critical apparatus suggests that the 2<sup>nd</sup> person form  $\text{וְתִכַּל}$  in the matrix is wrong and should probably be read as  $\text{וְתִכַּל}$ , i.e., the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular form. It is evident why conjunctionless clauses with the 2<sup>nd</sup> person in the “Nachsatz” is not common. The imperative in the matrix is 2<sup>nd</sup> person by definition. If the final sentence also had a 2<sup>nd</sup> person verbal form, there would not be a subject change between the matrix and the final sentence and, hence, no final.

### 5.5.3 Summary of the Syntactic Features of Category B

- (i) The matrix of this group is always occupied by an “Aufforderung” and the “Nachsatz” by a shortened yiqtol form.
- (ii) The construction is mostly in contact position though non-contact cases are also attested.
- (iii) The abovementioned observations confirm the contention that, for a final sentence to be realized, there needs to be a change in the verbal form between the matrix and the final sentence.

The syntax of category B corresponds largely to that described for category A<sup>25</sup>, except that the verb in the matrix is the 3<sup>rd</sup> person instead of the 1<sup>st</sup> person.

## 5.6 CATEGORY C: INTERROGATIVE IN THE MATRIX

There are instances where the matrix is not occupied by an “Aufforderung” but by an interrogative sentence. As the number of these sentences is relatively small, we are able to discuss most of them individually.

Examples: Genesis 12:19, 31:26-27, 34:23, Exodus 5:2, Deuteronomy 12:30, 1 Samuel 12:3, 20:4, 2 Samuel 9:1, 9:3, 21:3, 21:4, 1 Kings 3:5, 22:7, 22:20, 2 Kings 3:11, 14:11.

### 5.6.1 Interrogative Pronouns מִי or מַה in the Matrix

1 Samuel 12:3

3 הֲנִי עָנֹוּ בִי נֶגֶד יְהוָה וְנֶגֶד מְשִׁיחוֹ  
 אֶת־שׁוֹר מִי לָקַחְתִּי וְחִמּוֹר  
 מִי לָקַחְתִּי  
 וְאֶת־מִי עָשָׂקְתִּי  
 אֶת־מִי רָצוֹתִי  
 וּמִי־מִי לָקַחְתִּי כֶּפֶר  
 וְאֲעֲלִים עֵינִי בּוֹ  
 וְאָשִׁיב לָכֶם:

*Comment:* The matrix is occupied by a series of sentences introduced by the animate interrogative particle מִי. The interrogatives, מִי and מַה introduce interrogatory questions. The animate interrogative מִי is used to elicit identification or classification of persons in questions (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 318).

The interrogative pronouns in 1 Samuel 12:3 are followed by a qatal verbal form. The “Nachsatz” is occupied by two consecutive yiqtol verbal forms. Both verbs are in the 1<sup>st</sup> person. The second verb וְאָשִׁיב is clearly not cohortative. Because of the suffix to the first verbal form וְאֲעֲלִים, it is not possible to morphologically differentiate whether it is a cohortative or non-cohortative form. I propose that this form be treated as functionally cohortative and be translated as such. Because the second verbal form in the “Nachsatz” is not cohortative, it is not certain whether this example is indeed a final sentence. It may also be a simple consecutive. It would mean therefore that the long form (in such cases where such a form can be distinguished morphologically) is the marker for final sentence in the 1<sup>st</sup> person conjunctionless constructions and, where the short form is used, a consecutive and not

<sup>25</sup>Cf. section 5.4.3.



subordinate translation is called for. I also suggest that in such instances a change of mood becomes evident. The final sentence expresses the “irrealis” and the subsequent prefix conjugation short form an indicative. Thus, the following translation would be possible “... and from whose hand have I taken money, that I *may* blind my eyes with it? (Testify against me), and I *will* give it back.” The RSV translated this example in a similar fashion, “... or from whose hand have I taken a bribe to blind my eyes with it?...testify against me ... and I will restore it to you” (See also 1 Kings 22:20).

1 Samuel 20:4

4 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹנָתָן אֶל-דָּוִד  
מִה-תֹּאמַר נַפְשִׁי  
וְאֶעֱשֶׂה לָּךְ

*Comment:* The matrix is introduced by the inanimate interrogative pronoun מִה which is followed by a yiqtol form. Waltke and O'Connor (1990, 322) note that the inanimate pronoun is more common than the animate and has a greater range of uses. This form is also sometimes combined with a preposition. The uses are comparable with those of the animate pronouns. The final sentence is occupied by a cohortative form.

A second possibility is that the interrogative מִה does not necessarily express a question in this construction מִה-תֹּאמַר נַפְשִׁי. The RSV, NIV and NRSV translations all seem to suggest such an understanding, by translating “Whatever you say, I will do for you.” According to the RSV, therefore, this is not a final construction. The KJV also translates in a similar way “Whatever thy soul desireth, I will do it for you” thus not interpreting a final relation between the interrogative sentence and the successive verb וְאֶעֱשֶׂה. I, however, would prefer the following translation, “What is it you require, so that I may do it for you?” The interrogative

מה in the matrix, coupled with the syndetic yiqtol וְאֵעֲשֶׂה in the “Nachsatz”, are two good reasons why this construction should be interpreted as a final construction.

2 Samuel 21:3

3 וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־הַגִּבֹּעִים  
מָה אֶעֱשֶׂה לָּכֶם וּבְמָה אֶכְפֹּר  
וּבְרַכּוּ אֶת־נַחֲלַת יְהוָה:

*Comment:* The matrix consists of two co-ordinated interrogative sentences introduced by inanimate interrogative pronouns. The second pronoun is combined with a preposition. Both pronouns are followed by a prefix conjugation. The final sentence is problematic, as it is occupied by a Piel imperative instead of the yiqtol, which is to be expected. This would imply that an imperative is used in a sub-ordinated sentence to express a final sentence. The RSV translates this sentence as follows: “What shall I do for you? And how shall I make expiation, that you may bless the heritage of the Lord?” Although this translation is supported by the majority of other English translations (see NRSV, NIV, KJV), there is only this example where an imperative expresses a final sentence after a matrix consisting of an interrogative sentence. It is also important to note that the final sentences with interrogative in the matrix all appear to be “borderline” cases (at least with regard to their translations into English). One could translate them as final (and the translations generally do so), but the syntax differs from the patterns we have identified for conjunctionless final constructions and, therefore, the arguments are not as compelling as those identified for other types of conjunctionless final sentences. Furthermore, the corpus is very small and the examples too disparate to formulate definite criteria.

2 Samuel 21:4

4 וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ הַגִּבֹּעִים  
אֵין־לָנוּ כֶּסֶף וְנֶחֱב עִם־שָׂאוֹל



וְעַם־בֵּיתוֹ וְאִין־לָנוּ אִישׁ לְהַמִּית בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל  
וַיֹּאמֶר מֶה־אַתֶּם אֹמְרִים  
אֶעֱשֶׂה לָכֶם:

*Comment:* This is an unusual example. The “Nachsatz” is introduced by אֶעֱשֶׂה a form which does not morphologically differentiate between a cohortative or the ordinary 1<sup>st</sup> person. The verb אֶעֱשֶׂה is asyndetically connected to the previous sentence מֶה־אַתֶּם אֹמְרִים. What, therefore, is its syntactic relation to מֶה־אַתֶּם אֹמְרִים? The latter is introduced by an interrogative. The RSV translates this construction with a “that clause”<sup>26</sup> in English “What do you say that I shall do for you?” The NIV translates “What do you want me to do for you?” It appears that the syntax of final constructions with an interrogative in the matrix has many irregularities, when compared to the syntax of conjunctionless final sentences studied so far. Since אֶעֱשֶׂה is asyndetic and one cannot ascertain the form, this sentence should perhaps not be considered as a final sentence. The following translation is perhaps an option “Whatever you say/request, I will do for you.”

Closely linked to the above are examples with the inanimate pronoun combined with the preposition לְ in the matrix.

2 Kings 14:10

10 חָכָה הַכִּיתָ אֶת־אֲדֹם וַנִּשְׂאֶךָ לְבָךְ  
הַכְּבִיד וְשָׁב בְּבֵיתְךָ  
וְלָמָּה תִתְגַּדֵּחַ בְּרָעָה  
וְנִפְלְתָה  
אֵתָּה וַיְהוּדָה עִמָּךְ:

*Comment:* The matrix consists of an interrogative sentence introduced by וְלָמָּה. The matrix is the third element of an interrogative chain beginning in verse 9 and including הַכְּבִיד and וְשָׁב. The final sentence is subordinate to the interrogative sentence. The final sentence is

<sup>26</sup>See Storms (1966, 249-70).

problematic as it is occupied by a weqatal verbal form (cf. 2 Samuel 21:3, which is occupied by a Piel imperative in the matrix). The RSV translates this sentence as final expressing consequence, “so that you fall.”

We have seen two examples in which the matrix is occupied by verbal forms other than the expected yiqtol form in the final construction (2 Samuel 21:3, 2 Kings 14:10). This never occurs in conjunctionless final sentences with “Aufforderung” in the matrix. One can conclude that the syntax of these constructions with interrogatives in the matrix is somewhat different from the syntax of conjunctionless sentences where an “Aufforderung” occupies the matrix, so that it remains doubtful if all these constructions are really final sentences. In instances like 2 Samuel 21:4 where the verbal form introducing the “Nachsatz” is asyndetic, and there is no morphological difference between the cohortative and the short form, I have suggested that these should not be interpreted as final. Other examples: Genesis 12:19, 31:26

### 5.6.2 Interrogative אִיכָה in the Matrix

Deuteronomy 12:30

30 הַשְׁמֵר לָךְ  
פֶּן־תִּנְקֹשׁ אַחֲרֵיהֶם אַחֲרֵי הַשְׁמֵרָם מִפְּנֵיךְ  
וּפֶן־תִּדְרֹשׁ לֵאלֹהֵיהֶם לֵאמֹר  
אִיכָה יַעֲבֹדוּ הַגּוֹיִם הָאֵלֶּה אֶת־אֱלֹהֵיהֶם  
וְאֶעֱשֶׂה־כֵּן גַּם־אֲנִי:

*Comment:* The interrogative is followed by a yiqtol verbal form. The final sentence is occupied by a cohortative form. The final sentence and matrix are in contact position. The English translations consulted (NIV, RSV, NRSV) do not recognize a dependent relation between the interrogative sentence and the cohortative וְאֶעֱשֶׂה. The NIV typifies these translations, “How did these nations serve their Gods. We will do the same.” On the basis of



the syntax of this construction, I propose the following translation, “How did the nations serve their Gods, that I also may do the same.”

### 5.6.3 Examples With Interrogative $\text{הֲ}$ in the Matrix

2 Samuel 9:3

3 וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ הָאָפֶס עוֹד אִישׁ לְבֵית שָׁאוּל  
וְאָעֲשֶׂה עִמּוֹ חֶסֶד אֱלֹהִים  
וַיֹּאמֶר צִיָּבָא אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ עוֹד בֶּן לַיהוֹנָתָן  
נֹכַח רַגְלָיִם:

*Comment:* The matrix is occupied by an interrogative sentence. The sentence is a nominative sentence introduced by the interrogative  $\text{הֲ}$ .<sup>27</sup> The final sentence is occupied by a cohortative form. Other examples: 2 Samuel 9:1, 2 Kings 3:11, 1 Kings 22:7. It is significant that all sentences introduced by the interrogative  $\text{הֲ}$  are occupied either by nominal sentences or participle sentences in the matrix. This may be ascribed to the fact that in these examples inquiry is made about a state or condition rather than an action. The RSV translation correctly interprets the construction “Is there still not someone of the house of Saul, that I may show the kindness of God to him?”

### 5.6.4 Summary of the Syntactic Features of Category C

- (i) The syntax of the final constructions with interrogative sentences in the matrix exhibits some peculiarities, which we have not seen in the examples already analyzed.
- (ii) There are two cases where the final sentence is occupied by a form other than the customary yiqtol form (see 2 Samuel 21:3, 2 Kings 14:10). In both cases, the matrix is introduced by the inanimate interrogative pronoun  $\text{מַה}$ . It is not always clear whether these forms should be translated as final.

<sup>27</sup>According to Waltke and O'Connor (1990, 316) the interrogative  $\text{הֲ}$  normally introduces questions of fact. They refer to such questions as polar constructions “in that the entire proposition is questioned instead of just one feature of it” (1990, 684).

- (iii) Very often the final sentence is occupied by a non-cohortative form. We have seen that the 1<sup>st</sup> person cohortative form in the “Nachsatz” is the expected form for final constructions with “Aufforderung” in the matrix (Compare also Genesis 12:19, 1 Samuel 12:3). These cases most probably must not be treated as final sentences.
- (iv) The matrix of final sentences introduced by the interrogative particle  $\text{אִם}$  tends to occur with a nominal or participle sentence instead of a verbal sentence (see 2 Samuel 9:1, 9:3, 1 Kings 22:7, 2 Kings 3:11).
- (v) 2 Samuel 21:4 has an asyndetic cohortative in the “Nachsatz” and it is not clear whether this construction realize a final sentence. This further supports the contention that syndesis is a vital prerequisite for conjunctionless final sentences.
- (vi) The most common verbal root in the “Nachsatz” is  $\text{עָשָׂה}$ . Examples: Deuteronomy 12:30, 1 Samuel 20:4, 2 Samuel 9:1, 2 Samuel 21:4,

## 5.7 CATEGORY D: NEGATED FINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Because final constructions are two-element constructions, it is possible that negation could refer to both negation in the matrix and negation in the final sentence. Whenever reference is made to negated final sentences in this work, it will concern only those instances where the final sentence “Nachsatz” is negated. I will, however, make some brief remarks on how the matrix is negated. Because of the relatively small number of cases, most of them will be discussed.

Examples: Genesis, 16:10, 42:2, 47:20, Leviticus 22:2, 1 Samuel 5:11, 12:19, 29:7, 2 Samuel 13:5, 14:11, 1 Kings 14:1.



### 5.7.1 Examples

1 Samuel 5:11

11 וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ וַיֹּאסְפוּ אֶת־כָּל־סִרְיָי פְּלִשְׁתִּים  
וַיֹּאמְרוּ שְׁלַחוּ אֶת־אֲרוֹן אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
וַיָּשֶׁב לְמַקְמוֹ  
וְלֹא־יָמִית אֹתִי וְאֶת־עַמִּי  
כִּי־הָיְתָה מְחֹמַת־מוֹת בְּכָל־הָעִיר  
כַּבְּדָה מְאֹד יַד הָאֱלֹהִים שָׁם:

*Comment:* The matrix is occupied by an imperative שְׁלַחוּ. In the "Nachsatz" there are two consecutive final sentences one positive וַיָּשֶׁב, the other negative וְלֹא־יָמִית. This construction seems to be common, i.e., co-ordinated final sentences, with the second sentence a negated final sentence (Compare also 1 Samuel 12:19, 29:7, Genesis 42:2, 47:19, Leviticus 22:2). In all of these examples, it appears that the order of the sentences is of importance as the final negated sentence is always the second member of the co-ordinated chain. This means that the order cannot simply be reversed as was previously the case with co-ordinated final sentences.

Note that the negative particle לֹא is syndetic and always followed by the prefix conjugation.

2 Samuel 13:25

25 וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־אֲבִשָּׁלוֹם אֶל־בְּנֵי  
אֶלְנָא נִלְךְ כָּלְנוּ  
וְלֹא נִכְבֵּד עָלֶיךָ  
פָּרִץ־בוֹ  
וְלֹא־אָבָה לָלֶכֶת וַיִּבְרַכְהוּ

*Comment:* In this example, both the matrix as well as the final sentence are negated. The "Aufforderung" in the matrix is negated by אֶל whereas the final sentence is negated by a syndetic לֹא. The syntax of negated final sentences, therefore, requires a syndetic לֹא followed by the prefix conjugation in the final (See also Genesis 37:22, 27, Exodus 20:19). 1 Kings 20:8 is similar to the above example.

## 1 Kings 20:8

8 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו כָּל־הַזְּקֵנִים וְכָל־הָעָם  
אֶל־הַשָּׁמַע  
וְלֹא תֹאכְדָּה:

*Comment:* As in the previous example, both the matrix and the “Nachsatz” are negated. Problematic about this sentence is that there is no subject change between the matrix and the final sentence, which raises the question if it is really a final sentence. The NRSV and RSV thus translate, “Do not heed or consent”. The NIV translates similarly “Do not listen to him or agree to his demands.” Notice that the matrix is negated by אַל and the final sentence by וְלֹא. The verbal forms in the “Nachsatz” as well “Aufforderung” in the matrix are yiqtol verbal forms. Both are 2<sup>nd</sup> person. I would therefore suggest that this example not be treated as a final sentence because firstly there is no change in verbal form between the matrix and the final sentence. Secondly, both verbs are 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms and conjunctionless final sentence are restricted to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

## 1 Samuel 12:19

19 וַיֹּאמְרוּ כָל־הָעָם אֶל־שְׁמוּאֵל  
הַתִּפְּלֵל בְּעַד־עַבְדֶּיךָ אֶל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ  
וְאֶל־נַמּוֹת  
כִּי־יִסְפְּנוּ עַל־כָּל־חַטֹּאתֵינוּ רָעָה  
לְשֹׂאֵל לָנוּ מֶלֶךְ: ס

*Comment:* The matrix is occupied by an imperative הַתִּפְּלֵל. Problematic about this case though is the negated form וְאֶל־נַמּוֹת in the final sentence. We would expect a negated form with לֹא. The textual apparatus, however, suggests that the אַל form could be a result of a textual error and points out that many manuscripts have לֹא. Similar examples in Genesis 42:2 and 1 Samuel 5:11 support the text-critical suggestion. A translation suggestion for this verse would be as follows: “And all the people said to Samuel, ‘Pray on behalf of your servants to the Lord your God, that we may not die’ ...”



## Genesis 42:2

2 וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה שָׁמַעְתִּי כִּי יֵשׁ-שָׁבָר בְּמִצְרַיִם  
 רְדוֹ-שָׁמָּה  
 וְשִׁבְרוּ-לָנוּ מִשָּׁם  
 וְנָחִיָּה וְלֹא נָמוּת:

*Comment:* Genesis 42:2 seems to confirm the text-critical suggestion in 1 Samuel 12:19. The “Nachsatz” consists of co-ordinated final sentences – one positive, one negative. The RSV translation, in my opinion, gives a sound interpretation of the construction “... go down and buy grain for us there. That we may live and not die.”

## Genesis 16:10

10 וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ מַלְאֲכֵי יְהוָה  
 הֲרַבָּה אֲרֻבָּה אֶת-זַרְעֲךָ  
 וְלֹא יִסָּפֵר מְרֹב:

*Comment:* The matrix is not occupied by an “Aufforderung”, but rather by a commitment/promise/assurance by Jahweh. We have come across a few such examples in conjunctive final sentences, where a “Jahweh Rede” occupies the matrix.<sup>28</sup> I suggest the following translation “The Angel of the Lord said to her, I will also greatly multiply your seed, so that it cannot be numbered for multitude.”

### 5.7.2 Summary of Syntactic Features of Category D

- (i) In the examples where the matrix is negated, the “Aufforderung” is negated by אַל (e.g., 1 Samuel 12:19, 1 Kings 20:8).
- (ii) Final sentences: Yiqtol is negated by לֹא (always syndetic sentence initial).
- (iii) Where the negated final sentence is part of a co-ordinated pair of conjunctionless final sentences, it is always the second element of two co-ordinated final sentences.

<sup>28</sup>See section 4.4.3.1.4 (iii).

## 5.8 DESEMANTICIZED VERBAL FORMS

In our corpus, there are several cases where the imperative precedes a cohortative, which needs special attention. In these cases, there is a subject change between the imperative and the cohortative. However, I will illustrate that in such instances a final relation is not achieved. Rather, the cohortative after such imperative cases, should be treated and translated as consecutive and, hence, is not sub-ordinated to the preceding imperative. These constructions are restricted, however, to a specific number of verbal lexemes. These are imperatives of the verbs **הָלַךְ**, (the most popular example), and the verbs **קוּם** and **בּוֹא**.<sup>29</sup> In these cases, the imperative (singular or plural) immediately precedes a syndetic cohortative. I am of the opinion that in these examples the imperative has become desemanticized and should be treated as an interjection or exclamation. Examples like these illustrate again the close link between syntax and semantics in the realization of final sentences. In such instances, because the verb has lost its semantic value, it no longer serves as a final sentence, which implies that syntax alone does not account for the interpretation of certain constructions as final sentences.

### 5.8.1 Examples

1 Samuel 11:14

14 וַיֹּאמֶר שְׂמוּאֵל אֶל-הָעָם  
לָכוּ וְנִלְכָּה הַגִּלְגָּל  
וְנַחֲדָשׁ שָׁם הַמְּלוּכָה:

*Comment:* The cohortative **וְנִלְכָּה** is preceded by the imperative **לָכוּ**. The root of both verbal forms is **הָלַךְ**. The first imperative is desemanticized and should be translated as “come!” or German “Auf!” The two verbs are co-ordinated and, consequently, of the same syntactic

<sup>29</sup>Compare also Waltke and O'Connor (1990, 574). “The effect of the plural cohortative is frequently heightened by the verb of motion in the imperative, which functions as an auxiliary or interjection.” The verbs used include **הָלַךְ**, **קוּם** and **בּוֹא**.



status. Both verbs form the matrix of a final sentence whose “Nachsatz” is וְנַחֲדָשׁ. The verb in the final sentence is not cohortative but a shortened 1<sup>st</sup> person form. This means that there is a change of status between the “Nachsatz” and the final sentence. This is necessary to create a final relation. The matrix is occupied by a cohortative form.<sup>30</sup> The fact that both verbs in the matrix are from the root הָלַךְ supports my argument that the first verb is desemanticized and should be treated as an interjection/exclamation. A proposed translation is therefore “Come, let us go to Gilgal so that we may renew the kingship there.”

The following are similar examples.

Genesis 37:13

13 וַיֹּאמֶר יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל-יוֹסֵף  
הֲלוֹא אָחִיךָ רָעִים בָּשָׁכְם  
לָכֶה וְאֶשְׁלַחְךָ אֲלֵיהֶם  
וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הֲגִנִי:

*Comment:* Translation “Come, let me send you!” The desemanticized imperative לָכֶה precedes the cohortative form (not seen due to the suffixes). Therefore, one should not interpret a final relation between the verbs in the construction לָכֶה וְאֶשְׁלַחְךָ. KJV, NIV and RSV translations also reflect such an interpretation.

2 Samuel 15:14

14 וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד לְכָל-עֲבָדָיו אֲשֶׁר-אִתּוֹ בִּירוּשָׁלַם  
קוּמוּ וְנִבְרַחָה כִּי לֹא-תִהְיֶה-לָּנוּ פְּלִיטָה מִפְּנֵי אֲבִשָׁלוֹם  
מִהָרֹּו לָלֶכֶת  
פְּנִימָה  
וְהִשְׁגָּנוּ וְהָדִיחַ עָלֵינוּ אֶת-הָרָעָה  
וְהִכָּה הָעִיר לְפִי-חֶרֶב:

<sup>30</sup>Compare the example in section 5.4.1.6 where I argued that the change from cohortative to short first person is to ensure a change in verbal status between the matrix and the final sentence and consequently realise a final sentence.

*Comment:* The difference between this example and the previous one is that the desemanticized verbal form is קוּמוּ instead of הֵלֵךְ. Translation “Come, let us flee!” The RSV translates “Arise, and let us flee!” Likewise in NRSV, RSV, NIV and KJV.

2 Kings 5:5

5 וַיֹּאמֶר מֶלֶךְ-אֲרָם  
לֵךְ-בָּא וְאֶשְׁלַח סֵפֶר אֶל-מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל  
וַיֵּלֶךְ  
וַיִּקַּח בְּיָדוֹ עֵשֶׂר כִּכְרֵי-כֶסֶף וְשֵׁשֶׁת אֲלָפִים  
זָהָב וַעֲשֶׂר חֲלִיפוֹת בְּגָדִים:

*Comment:* The imperative construction לֵךְ-בָּא precedes the cohortative וְאֶשְׁלַח. This, as in the previous examples, should be treated as a desemanticized unit. The RSV translates the construction as “Go now! and I will send a letter to the king.” The translators clearly do not see a causal relationship between the going and the sending.

### 5.8.2 Summary of the Syntactic Features of Desemanticized Verbs

- (i) The desemanticized verbs are restricted to the verbal forms expressing movement  
קוּם and בּוֹא, הֵלֵךְ.
- (ii) The imperative is followed by a syndetic cohortative form, singular or plural.
- (iii) There are a few examples where there is no waw between the forms

From the abovementioned observations it is clear that although some constructions meet the requirements for final sentence, i.e., cohortative in matrix followed syndetic yiqtol, they were still not translated as final because of the verbs of movement involved. It shows that there is a close link between syntax and semantics in the description of final sentences and, in even “purely” syntactic analysis, one has to resort to semantic criteria from time to time.



## 5.9 COHORTATIVE PLUS COHORTATIVE

There are many cases where a cohortative is followed by another cohortative or, in some instances, a cohortative chain. How are these cases to be treated? Is the following cohortative final to the chain-initial cohortative? If it is, it would mean that the second cohortative is sub-ordinated and not co-ordinated with the preceding. Is that syntactically possible?

It is clear from the investigation into conjunctionless final constructions, that in order for a final sentence to be realised, there must be a subject change between the matrix and the final sentence. In the following I hope to show that there is another prerequisite, i.e., there must be a change in the verbal form, between the matrix and the “Nachsatz”, i.e., the verbal form in the matrix should not be the same as the verbal form in the “Nachsatz”. I have already pointed to several examples where this is the cases. (1 Kings 20:8, Gen 1:6).

The cohortative *wecohortative* constructions provide suitable examples to test the above hypothesis. The question that needs to be addressed is whether, in the case of two consecutive verbal forms, the second can be sub-ordinated to the first.<sup>31</sup> Sub-ordination, it was stated earlier, can only occur between verbs of different syntactic status.

1 Samuel 20:29

29 וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁלַחֲנִי נָא כִּי זָבַח מִשְׁפָּחָה לָּנוּ בְּעִיר  
וְהוּא צִוְּהֵלִי אָחִי  
וְעַתָּה אִם-מִצָּאתִי חַן בְּעֵינֶיךָ  
אִמְלֹטָהּ נָא  
וְאַרְאֶה אֶת-אָחִי  
עַל-כֵּן לֹא-בָא אֶל-שְׁלֹחַן הַמֶּלֶךְ: 30

*Comment:* In this example there are two consecutive cohortatives אִמְלֹטָהּ נָא וְאַרְאֶה. Should this be interpreted as “Let me go, in order that I may see my brothers.” A second option is to interpret them consecutively “Let me go and see my brothers.” The construction is made up

<sup>31</sup>According to Jotūn-Muraoka (1990, 382) this is possible. They cite Exodus 3.3 and 1 Kings 19:20 as examples, but admit that “it is not always clear whether the 1 is juxtaposed or subordinate.” They also cite Genesis 24:57, 2 Samuel 16:9 and Jeremiah 40:15 as “doubtful examples.”

of two consecutive cohortatives. There is therefore no change of verbal form between the first and the second sentence. Secondly, there is no subject change between the two verbs. In most instances this construction is translated as consecutive and not as a final relation. The RSV translates: "Let me get away and see my brothers" Likewise the KJV "Let me get away, I pray thee, and see my brethren." The NIV, however, translates a purpose clause, "Let me get away to see my brothers."

On the basis of the syntactic considerations mentioned above I would therefore suggest that such constructions not be considered as final sentences, but as simple consecutive relations. Other examples 2 Samuel 15:7, 1 Kings 19:20, 2 Kings 6:2, Genesis 18:21.

2 Samuel 17:1-3

וַיֹּאמֶר אַחִיתֹּפֶל אֶל-אַבְשָׁלֹם  
אֲבַחֲרָה נָא שְׁנַיִם-עָשָׂר אֲלָף אִישׁ  
וְאֶקְוָמָה  
וְאֶרְדָּפָה אַחֲרֵי-דָוִד הַלֵּילָה:  
2 וְאַבּוֹא עָלָיו וְהוּא יָגַע וּרְפָה יָדָיו וְהַחֲרַדְתִּי אֹתוֹ  
וְנָס כָּל-הָעָם אֲשֶׁר-אִתּוֹ וְהִכִּיתִי אֶת-הַמֶּלֶךְ לְבִדּוֹ:  
3 וְאֲשִׁיבָה כָּל-הָעָם אֵלָיָה כְּשׁוּב הַכָּל הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר אִתָּה  
מִבִּקֵּשׁ כָּל-הָעָם יִהְיֶה שְׁלוֹם:

*Comment:* In these verses consecutive cohortatives follow one another. The chain starts in verse one and constitutes the following verbs אֲבַחֲרָה, אֶקְוָמָה וְאֶרְדָּפָה, (verse 1) וְאַבּוֹא, (verse 2) and וְאֲשִׁיבָה. Notice that all the forms are cohortative, except וְאַבּוֹא in verse 2. The non-cohortative form is not unintentional or fortuitous. I would suggest that the first three cohortatives are all consecutive. "Let me choose twelve thousand men, and go and pursue him tonight." The non-cohortative וְאַבּוֹא is not consecutive to the previous three, but subordinated to them and thus final. The 1<sup>st</sup> person form וְאַבּוֹא is not cohortative and accordingly not of the same syntactic status as the preceding and following cohortatives. Therefore: Let



me do X + Y + Z + ... so that I may ... The first three cohortatives express Ahithophel's intention, the final sentence **וְאָבֹא** reveals his purpose/motive. The cohortative chain is continued by cohortative **וְאָשִׁיבָה** in verse 3. The final sentence is thus embedded in the cohortative chain. Even though there is no change of subject between the matrix and the final sentence, there is a change of verbal form and therefore syntactic status which qualifies this construction as a final sentence.

2 Samuel 19:27

27 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ עֲבָדִי רַמְנִי כִּי־אָמַר עֲבָדֶךָ  
אֲחַבְּשֶׁה־לִּי הַחֲמֹר  
וְאֶרְכַּב עָלָיָה וְאֵלֶךְ אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ כִּי פֶסַח עֲבָדֶךָ

*Comment:* In this verse three 1<sup>st</sup> person singular verbs follow one another. The first is the cohortative **אֲחַבְּשֶׁה**. The two verbs **וְאֶרְכַּב** and **וְאֵלֶךְ** are non-cohortative. These two verbs are not co-ordinated to **אֲחַבְּשֶׁה**, but sub-ordinated and consequently final to it. The reason for this interpretation is that the two non-cohortatives are different verbal forms to the cohortative in the matrix and thus sub-ordinated to it. Hence, the cohortative occupies the matrix of this final construction whose “Nachsatz” consists of two consecutive non-cohortative forms.

The above discussion has provided enough evidence to corroborate my hypothesis<sup>32</sup> that for a final sentence to be realised, two conditions must be met. There need to be a change in verbal form between the matrix and the final sentence. The matrix must be occupied by an a form expressing “Aufforderung”. Consecutive cohortatives cannot realise a final relation to one another as they are the same verbal forms. In the instances where a cohortative is followed by a non-cohortative 1<sup>st</sup> person form, the latter is subordinate to the former and final to it (1

<sup>32</sup>Cf. section 3.4.4.1.

Samuel 11:14, 2 Samuel 17:1-3, 19:27). I further suggest, on the basis of the above discussion, that the same would apply to the construction imperative + imperative. Such constructions will also not be in a final relation as they have the same verbal form, imperative in both the matrix and the “Nachsatz”.

## 5.10 THE SYNTAX OF CONJUNCTIONLESS FINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

The following are some of the more salient syntactical issues with regard to conjunctionless final constructions.

5.10.1 To realize a conjunctionless final construction the following conditions should be met:

5.10.1.1 The matrix must be occupied by either a volitional form or an imperative.

5.10.1.2 The “Nachsatz” is always a syndetic prefix-conjugation verbal form.

5.10.1.3 There must be a subject change between the matrix and the final sentence or, alternatively,

5.10.1.4 If the previous condition (4.9.1.3) is not met, there must be a change in syntactic status between the matrix and the final sentence. A cohortative and an ordinary 1<sup>st</sup> person verb (yiqtol) do not have the same syntactic status.

5.10.2 Conjunctionless final constructions are, as a rule, in contact position with their matrixes (conjunctive final sentence is more often in non-contact position). Consequently, they are much more readily investigated in terms of traditional clause-level grammatical analyses. In cases where there are embedded final sentences,<sup>33</sup> a text-level description is called for.

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<sup>33</sup>Example Exodus 8:4.



- 5.10.3 The distribution of conjunctionless final constructions reveals the following pattern, viz., in the books where conjunctive final constructions are popular, like Deuteronomy, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, conjunctionless final constructions are very rare.

## 5.11 CONCLUSION

It follows from the discussions in this chapter that the syntax of the conjunctionless final constructions differs markedly from the conjunctive constructions described in Chapter 4. This supports my initial theses that conjunctive and conjunctionless final sentences are distinct syntactical entities that cannot simply be used interchangeably.

After careful consideration of the syntax of conjunctionless final constructions outlined above, the following hypotheses were confirmed:

- 5.11.1 The matrix of conjunctionless final constructions are always occupied by an “Aufforderung” or interrogative sentence and the “Nachsatz” by *weyiqtol* (short form) in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and cohortative in the 1<sup>st</sup> person. When a cohortative form occupies the matrix, the 1<sup>st</sup> person form in the “Nachsatz” will be non-cohortative. In this way the writer ensures a change in verbal form from the matrix to the “Nachsatz” and a final relation can be established (1 Samuel 11 :14).
- 5.11.2 The syntax of conjunctionless final constructions confirms my hypothesis regarding the two conditions that have to be met for a final relation to be established between two successive verbal forms. My examples have shown that syndesmosis is absolutely essential for final relations to be realised in conjunctionless constructions. I believe my analysis have successfully illustrated and confirmed my hypotheses (cf. 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 under Chapter 3.4) in my investigation into conjunctionless final constructions.

- 5.11.3 The examples also confirm that conjunctionless final constructions are restricted to discourse or direct speech.
- 5.11.4 The examples and syntax also confirm that conjunctive and conjunctionless constructions cover different domains. I have demonstrated in Chapter 4 that in the “Nachsatz” of conjunctive final constructions, the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons predominate, with the 1<sup>st</sup> person negligible. The syntax of conjunctionless final constructions has conclusively shown the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons to be the most common forms in the “Nachsatz”, with no instances of 2<sup>nd</sup> person verbal forms.
- 5.11.5 With regard to the questions of the relationship between syntax and semantics, this investigation thus confirms that both play a role in the interpretation of certain Bilical Hebrew constructions as final constructions. I have indicated various examples of constructions in which the syntax suggests that it should be interpreted as a final sentence. Nevertheless, there remains a reluctance on the part of the English Bible translations consulted to do so. I have suggested in these cases that finality seems to be also dependent on the semantics of the verbs involved in the construction. In these cases, it appears that semantic considerations are given precedence over syntactic considerations by the translators.

In Chapter 6 I will discuss Genesis 27 with special reference to the many final constructions (both conjunctive and conjunctionless) that appear therein. I also wish to illustrate the value and applicability of the results of my investigations into conjunctive and conjunctionless final constructions conducted in Chapters 4 and 5.



## CHAPTER 6

### AN ANALYSIS OF FINAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN GENESIS 27

#### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will carry out an analysis of Genesis 27 as it is of special significance for this study, viz., it is one of only two chapters in the Hebrew Bible in which both conjunctionless and conjunctive final constructions appear together in a coherent narrative.<sup>1</sup> Muroaka (1997, 139-140) observes the following concerning Genesis 27, “That there is a measure of fluidity possible in our biblical writers’ mode of thinking is manifest in the various linguistic patterns used in Genesis 27 in casting and recasting the arrangement that the ageing Isaac made regarding the future of his twin sons.” The text thus presents a classic study to compare the two categories of final constructions and to apply and test my hypothesis concerning their usage.

#### 6.2 OBJECTIVES

- 6.2.1 To investigate conjunctive and conjunctionless final constructions in a coherent narrative by applying the insights gained in Chapters 4 and 5 and test its validity.
- 6.2.2 To determine whether the choice in final construction in a narrative is syntactically induced or is solely a result of stylistic considerations.
- 6.2.3 To test my contention that diverse final constructions are not simply alternate ways to express the same thing, but that they cover different domains in Biblical Hebrew and convey special nuances of meaning.

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<sup>1</sup>The other chapter is 2 Samuel 13. However, the final constructions do not appear to the extent as they do in Genesis 27.

### 6.3 LITERARY STRUCTURE OF GENESIS 27

In Genesis 27 the same final construction, expressed originally by Isaac in v.4, is repeated five times, as the characters in the narrative repeat what Isaac had said from their own perspective, and is therefore not verbatim. Hence, each time the construction recurs, a different syntactic expression is used. The question that needs to be asked is therefore: “Are these changes in the final constructions purely for stylistic reasons to avoid the monotony of repetition, or do these different syntactic expressions convey subtle shifts in meaning?” Are any of these changes syntactically induced or perhaps brought about by syntactical constraints imposed by the rules of the language?

Brueggeman (1982, 231), in his analysis of the text, divides it into four scenes, which focuses on the four central characters of this narrative.

|            |             |   |
|------------|-------------|---|
| Scene I.   | (vv. 1-4)   | The father prepares to bless his older son. |
| Scene II.  | (vv. 5-17)  | The mother schemes for her younger son.     |
| Scene III. | (vv. 18-29) | The younger son deceives the father.        |
| Scene VI.  | (vv. 30-40) | The father grieves with his older son.      |

In addition, he regards verses 41-45 as a “transitional conclusion” and points to a symmetry between Scene I and Scene VI, where the main characters are Isaac and Esau. Scenes II and III intrude, as it were, on this framework (1982, 231).

Hamilton (1995, 212) follows a similar analysis, dividing the chapter into six scenes. He comments:

The whole chapter is divided into scenes involving two personalities each: (1) Isaac and Esau (vv. 1-4); (2) Rebecca and Jacob (vv. 5-17); (3) Isaac and Jacob (vv. 18 – 29); (4) Isaac and Esau (vv. 30-40); (5) Rebecca and Jacob (vv. 41-45); (6) Rebecca and Isaac (v. 46). Thus, Isaac appears in four scenes, Rebekah in three scenes, Jacob



also in three scenes, and Esau but twice. Hence, Isaac is most prominent and Esau least prominent.

My own division of the chapter presents a combination of the two positions above, as I have included elements from both expositions that could be helpful to my own inquiry. I have followed this route in order to elevate the discourse sections of the narrative as the focal point of my analysis. I have also divided the chapter into four scenes - the direct speech sections constituting the kernel of these sections. Each scene repeats the initial final construction, and it is placed in the mouth of a different character. In order to accommodate all the final constructions in this design, I have divided the middle scenes (scenes II and III), into two acts each, on the basis that each act presents a new or different usage of the final construction. This was deemed necessary since in each of the middle scenes, the final construction appear twice. By dividing these scenes into two acts each, all the six occurrences of final constructions in this narrative are made the focus of this investigation.

For the purpose of my analysis I make the distinction between discourse and narrative sections, as propagated in this study. The discourse sections contain the final constructions. The narrative sections function as “scene setters”, thereby, either introducing each scene or, alternatively, concluding scenes. They also provide a connecting link between the scenes. The division of scenes in my analysis is summarized overleaf.

**Structure of Genesis 27**

| <b>Scene</b>                | <b>Act</b>                | <b>Summary</b>   |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| <b>I</b> Genesis 27:1-4     |                           | In this scene Isaac and Esau are the actors and Isaac the speaker. Isaac requests of Esau to make him a savoury dish and informs him of his intention to bless him afterwards. Rebecca is also part of this scene, but she is “behind the scenes”, from the perspective of the other actors, and does not directly influence this scene. Focus, verse 3-4. |
| <b>II</b> Genesis 27:5-17   |                           | I have divided this scene into two acts. The characters are Rebecca and Jacob. Rebecca repeats what she overheard and, in so doing, restates the final sentence. The focus of this scene is the two acts.  |
|                             | <b>1</b> Genesis 27:6-7   | The speaker is Rebecca informing Jacob about the conversation she overheard between Isaac and Esau. She repeats Isaac’s words to Esau. Focus, verse 7.   |
|                             | <b>2</b> Genesis 27:8-13  | Rebecca plots with Jacob on how to secure Esau’s blessing for himself. The final sentence is recast in the words of Rebecca. Focus, verse 10.  |
| <b>III</b> Genesis 27:18-29 |                           | I have also divided this scene into two acts. The actors are Jacob and Isaac. Jacob confronts Isaac in an attempt to deceive him and thus secure the blessing. The focus of this scene is in the two acts.   |
|                             | <b>1</b> Genesis 27:18-20 | Jacob and Isaac are the main characters. Jacob is the speaker and deceives Isaac. He reiterates the promise Isaac made to Esau from his perspective and under pretense claims the blessing for himself. Focus, verse 19.   |
|                             | <b>2</b> Genesis 27:21-26 | Isaac is the speaker and blesses Jacob. In the process, he repeats his original promise. Focus, verse 31.  |
| <b>IV</b> Genesis 27:30-40  |                           | In the last scene, Isaac and Esau are the actors. Esau is the speaker. Esau restates Isaac’s original promise. Focus, verse 25.  |



The narrator places the same final construction in the mouth of all the actors, i.e., Isaac (2x), Rebecca (2x), Jacob (1x) and Esau (1x). Are they all saying the same thing? Because of the changes of speaker, there are also subsequent shifts in perspective and person, i.e., the original speaker, the 1<sup>st</sup> person subject, becomes the one spoken about (3<sup>rd</sup> person) in the latter verses. This constant retelling results in changes in the syntax and choice of final construction.

I will now consider the syntactic differences and similarities between the diverse final constructions in Genesis 27. I will also compare the original text with translation of this chapter into English, i.e., The Revised Standard Version, and Greek (Septuagint) to see how they dealt with the differences expressed by the Hebrew text, and what light they throw on the interpretation of the various constructions, and the exegesis of the text. Although the RSV is used in my outline presented here, the KJV, the NIV, and the NRSV have also be consulted. The commentators consulted are Wenham (WBC), Speiser (AB), and Hamilton (NICOT).

### 6.3 GENESIS 27:1-47: COMPARISON OF THE NARRATIVE IN BIBLICAL HEBREW, GREEK AND ENGLISH

I have included only those sections relevant to my analysis. In the English and Greek versions only a translation of the verse containing the final construction is given.

| English Translation  | Greek Translation  | Hebrew Text BHS   |
|--|--|---|
| Revised Standard Version   | Septuagint   |   |
| <b>Scene 1: Isaac and Esau (Genesis 27:1-6)</b>  |  |   |
| 3 ... now then, take your weapons, your quiver and your bow, and go out to the field, and hunt game for me, 4 and prepare for me savoury food, such as I love, and bring it to me that I may eat: that I may bless you before I die. | 3 ... Καὶ ἔξελθε εἰς τὸ πεδίου καὶ θήρευσόν μοι θήραν 4 καὶ ποίσον μοι ἐδέσματα, ὥς φιλῶ ἐγώ, καὶ ἐνεγκέ μοι, ἵνα φάγω, ὅπως εὐλογήσῃ σε ἡ ψυχὴ μου πρὶν ἀποθανεῖν με. | <p>3 וְעַתָּה שְׂאֵנָה כִּלְיֶךָ תִּלְיֶךָ וְקִשְׁתְּךָ וצֵא הַשָּׂדֶה וצוּדָה לִי צִיד׃</p> <p>4 וַעֲשֵׂה־לִּי מַטְעָמִים כַּאֲשֶׁר אֲהַבְתִּי וְהָבִיֵּאָה לִּי וְאָכַלְתָּ בְּעִבּוֹר חֶבְרֹךְךָ נַפְשִׁי בְּטָרֶם אָמוּת׃</p> |

**Scene 2: Act 1: Rebecca and Jacob (Genesis 27:7)**

7 Bring me game, and prepare for me  
savoury food, such as I love and bring  
it to me, that I may eat: that I may  
bless you before I die."

7 Ἐνεγκόν μοι θηραν καὶ ποιήσόν  
μοι ἐδέσματα, καὶ φαγὼν  
εὐλογήσω σε ἐναντίον κυρίου πρὸ  
τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν με.

7 הָבִיָּאָה לִּי צִיד  
7 וְעָשִׂה לִּי מְטַעֲמִים  
וְאָכְלָה  
וְאִבְרַכְכָּה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה לִפְנֵי מוֹתִי:

**Scene 2: Act 2: Rebecca and Jacob (Genesis 27:8-17)**

9 ... Go to the flock and fetch me two  
goat kids, that I may prepare some  
savoury food for your father, such as he  
loves; 10 and you shall bring it to your  
father to eat, so that he may bless you  
before he dies."

9 ποιήσω αὐτοὺς ἐδέσματα τῷ  
πατρὶ σου, ὡς φιλεῖ, 10 καὶ  
εἰσοίσεις τῷ πατρὶ σου, καὶ  
φάγεται, ὅπως εὐλογήσῃ σε ὁ  
πατήρ σου πρὸ τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν  
αὐτόν.

9 לָחֶזֶק אֶל-הַצֹּאן  
וְקָח־לִּי מִשָּׁם שְׁנֵי גְדֵי עִזִּים טָבִים  
וְאָעֲשֶׂה 10  
אֹתָם מְטַעֲמִים לְאָבִיךָ כְּאֲשֶׁר אָהֵב:  
וְהִבֵּאתָ לְאָבִיךָ וְאָכַל  
בְּעֵבֶר אֲשֶׁר יְבָרְכְךָ לִפְנֵי מוֹתוֹ:

**Scene 3: Act One: Jacob to Isaac (Genesis 27:18-20)**

20 Jacob said to his father, "I am Esau  
your first born. I have done what you  
told me; now sit up and eat of my  
game, that you may bless me."

20 καὶ εἶπεν Ἰακωβ τῷ πατρὶ  
αὐτοῦ Ἐγὼ Ἡσὺν ὁ  
πρωτότοκός σου ἐποίησα, καθὰ  
ἐλάλησας μοι ἄναστας κάθισον  
καὶ φαγε τῆς θήρας μου, ὅπως  
εὐλογήσῃ με ἡ ψυχὴ σου.

20 וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב אֶל-אָבִיו אֲנִכִּי עֲשׂו בְּכֹר  
עָשִׂיתִי כְּאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ אֵלַי  
קוּם-נָא שִׁבָּה  
וְאָכְלָה מִצִּידִּי  
בְּעֵבֶר תְּבָרְכֵנִי נִפְשִׁי:



**Scene 3: Act 2: Jacob and Isaac (Genesis 27:21-26)**

25 Then he said, "Bring it to me , 25 Καὶ εἶπεν Προσάγαγέ  
that I may eat of my son's game and μοι, καὶ φάγομαι ἀπὸ τῆς  
bless you." So he brought it to him θήρας σου, τεκνόν, ἵνα  
and he ate; and he brought him wine, εὐλογήσῃ σε ἡ ψυχὴ μου.  
and he drank.  
Καὶ προσήγαγεν αὐτῷ,  
καὶ ἔφαγεν· καὶ  
εἰσήεγκεν αὐτῷ οἶνον,  
καὶ ἔπιεν

25 וַיֹּאמֶר הַגֶּשֶׁה לִּי וְאֹכְלָה מִצִּיד בְּנִי 25  
לְמַעַן תְּבָרֵכֵךְ נַפְשִׁי  
וַיִּגְשֶׁה לוֹ וַיֹּאכֶל  
וַיִּבֶא לוֹ יַיִן וַיִּשְׁתְּ:

**Scene 4: Isaac and Esau (Genesis 27:30-40)**

31 He also prepared savoury food, 31 Καὶ ἐποίησεν καὶ αὐτὸς  
and brought it to his father. And he ἐδέσματα καὶ προσήνεγκεν  
said to his father, "Let my father τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν  
arise and eat of his son's game, that τῷ πατρὶ Ἀσστήτω ὁ  
you may bless me."  
πατήρ μου καὶ φαγέται  
τῆς θήρας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ,  
ὅπως εὐλογήσῃ με ἡ ψυχὴ  
σου.

31 וַיַּעַשׂ גַּם־הוּא מִטַּעַמִּים וַיִּבֶא לְאָבִיו וַיֹּאמֶר 31  
יָקֹם אָבִי וַיֹּאכֶל מִצִּיד בְּנִי  
בְּעִבּוֹר תְּבָרֵכֵנִי נַפְשִׁי:

**6.4 ANALYSIS OF FINAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN GENESIS 27****Scene 1: Verses 3-4**

וַעֲתָה שְׂאֵנָא כְּלִיד תְּלִיד וְקִשְׁתִּךְ  
וְצֵא הַשָּׂדֶה  
וְצִוְדָה לִי צִיד:  
וַעֲשֵׂה־לִּי מִטַּעַמִּים כַּאֲשֶׁר אָהַבְתִּי  
הַבִּיאָה לִּי  
וְאֹכְלָה  
בְּעִבּוֹר תְּבָרֵכֵךְ נַפְשִׁי בְּטָרִם אֲמוֹת:

The matrix of the final construction is introduced by **וְעַתָּה** in verse 3. The governing verb, **אָשׂ**, is followed by the particle **אֵן**. These syntactic features, we have seen in Chapter 5, normally occur in the matrix of conjunctionless final constructions.<sup>2</sup> The matrix consists of an imperative chain introduced by **אֲשַׁנֵּן**. Four further imperatives **וְצִיָּה**, **וְעִשֶׂה־לִּי**, **וְאֶכְלֶה** and **וְהִבֵּיָאֵה** complete this chain. This matrix confirms our finding in Chapters 4 and 5 that, whereas the matrix of conjunctive final constructions consist of a governing verb followed by a weqatal chain, an imperative chain seems to be the preferred construction in the matrix of conjunctionless constructions.<sup>3</sup>

The matrix is followed by successive conjunctionless and conjunctive final constructions. The “Nachsatz” in the conjunctionless final construction is constituted by the cohortative **וְאֶכְלֶה**. There is a subject change between the matrix and the “Nachsatz”. The chain of verbal forms also indicates a change in syntactic status. The first final sentence is in non-contact position.

The NIV and NRSV translate the first final construction similarly, “Bring it to me to eat”. So also do Speiser (1964, 203) and Hamilton (1995, 213). This translation is problematic as it does not capture the subject change between the matrix and the “Nachsatz”. By using an infinitival construction in the English translation they would seem to imply the same in the Hebrew. The RSV and KJV translations of “that I may eat” is more appropriate.

The first final construction is followed by an asyndetic conjunctive final construction introduced by the conjunction **בְּעִבּוֹר**. The absence of the *waw* is significant and indicates that

<sup>2</sup>See 5.4.1.2 and 5.4.1.3. These markers have to do with the fact that conjunctive final constructions always occur in direct speech.

<sup>3</sup>Compare 5.4.1.4 and 5.4.1.5. I have used the word “prefer because there are cases in which the reverse is true, but these are the exception rather than the rule. See 1 Samuel 15:25, Genesis 18: 4-5, Numbers 27:18 –20.



the second final sentence is not coordinated to the first. Rather, the second final sentence is dependent and, therefore, final to everything that precedes, including the first final sentence.<sup>4</sup> Such a construction can only be achieved with a conjunctive construction. To accomplish this the writer changes subject from the 1<sup>st</sup> person **אֲנִי** in the conjunctionless final sentence to the third person **תְּבַרְכֶּנּוּ** in the ensuing conjunctive final sentence. The writer accomplices this subject change by introducing the impersonal noun **נַפְשִׁי** as subject of verb **תְּבַרְכֶּנּוּ** in the “Nachsatz”. In doing so, he affects a change in the verbal person between the two final sentences. This is rendered literally, though correctly by the KJV and Wenham (1987, 198) “that my soul may bless ...” The other translations, NRSV, NIV, KJV, is comparable to Hamilton (1995, 212) who translates “so that I may bless.” This translation, however, does not reflect the subtle change in subject by the introduction of **נַפְשִׁי**. The writer thus shows that the blessing is dependent on the eating and not co-ordinated with it. The conjunctive final sentence is followed by the *yiqtol*. *Yiqtol* is used in in the “Nachsatz” of conjunctive final constructions to express future intentions as opposed to the infinitival construction with *qatal* in the matrix which expresses interpretations of past events.<sup>5</sup>

The Septuagint translation renders the two final sentences with two different final conjunctions. Firstly, a final conjunction followed by the subjunctive mood (present subjunctive active) is used, i.e., *ἵνα φάγω*. The second final sentence is introduced by the conjunction *ὅπως*. Blass, Debrunner and Rehkopf (1976, 298) states that final sentences are introduced by the three conjunctions *ἵνα*, *ὅπως* and *ὥς* in Greek. Wenham (1965, 161-162) states that “Purpose clauses are introduced by *ἵνα* or *ὅπως*, both of which mean ‘in order

<sup>4</sup>See asyndetic **לִמְעַן** constructions in 4.7.

<sup>5</sup>See 4.4.3.2.6.

that' or 'that'." Blass, Debrunner and Rehkopf, like Wenham, do not indicate any differences in the uses of the above conjunctions, though the former observe that ὅπως is often used as "Abwechslung" to ἵνα which is the more common conjunction of the two (1976, 299). The use of two different conjunctions in Greek can therefore be seen as an attempt by the translators to capture the Biblical Hebrew expression, by showing that the final sentences are expressed by two different constructions in Hebrew.

### Scene 2 Act I Verse 6-7

וּרְבֵקָה אָמְרָה אֶל-יַעֲקֹב בְּנָה לֵאמֹר  
 הִנֵּה שָׁמַעְתִּי אֶת-אֲבִיךָ  
 מְדַבֵּר אֶל-עֵשָׂו אָחִיךָ  
 לֵאמֹר הִבִּיֵּאָה לִי צִיד  
 וְעֲשֵׂה-לִי מִטַּעַמִּים  
 וְאֶכְלָה  
 וְאַבְרָכְכָה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה לִפְנֵי מוֹתִי:

The matrix of this sentence is constituted by an imperative chain consisting of two verbs  $\text{הִבִּיֵּאָה לִי}$  and  $\text{וְעֲשֵׂה-לִי}$ . In Rebecca's retelling, the final sentences expressed by the verbs  $\text{וְעֲשֵׂה-לִי}$  and  $\text{וְאֶכְלָה}$  are not consecutive as in Isaac's original instruction v.4, but coordinated. Notice that there is no subject change between the coordinated final sentences (both are 1<sup>st</sup> person and cohortative) and that the second final sentence is also conjunctionless ( $\text{וְאֶכְלָה}$ ) (1<sup>st</sup> person, syndetic) as opposed to the asyndetic conjunctive (3<sup>rd</sup> person  $\text{בְּעֵבוֹר תִּבְרַכְךָ}$ ) in verse 4. I need to reiterate my findings in Chapters 4 and 5 that the first person form is used with conjunctionless constructions except in special cases which I demonstrated in Chapter 4.<sup>6</sup> Because the subject of the coordinated final sentence is 1<sup>st</sup> person

<sup>6</sup>See 4.4.3.3. Here I have argued and demonstrated that 1<sup>st</sup> person conjunctive cases only appear under certain conditions, and is the exception rather than the rule.



וְאֶבְרַכְכָּה, the Biblical Hebrew writer uses a conjunctionless final sentence, which is the preferred form with the 1<sup>st</sup> person.

The RSV's translation correctly captures the coordination between the two final sentences "... and prepare for me savoury food, and bring it to me, that I may eat it, and bless you before I die." Similar to this, Speiser (1964, 203) translates "... that I may eat it and bless you." Hamilton (1995, 214) repeats "that I may" in his translation "... that I may eat it, and that I may bless you ..." to underline the consecutive final constructions. The NIV and RSV provide similar translations. There appears to be general consensus regarding the translation of these constructions. Wenham (1987, 198) translates the first sentence with an infinitival construction, though there is none in the Hebrew, "Bring me game and make me a tasty stew to eat, so that my soul may bless you before I die." The same concerns raised in the discussion in verse 4 about such infinitival translations into English applies here. Biblical Hebrew has means to express infinitival expressions, either by ל infinitive or by final conjunction followed by the infinitive.

The Septuagint translation is somewhat strange. They translated the constructions with a present participle φαγῶν and a future active ἐὺλογησῶ, respectively. One can translate it into English as follows "... eating, I will bless you." The Greek translation, therefore, focuses on the fact that the eating and blessing are simultaneous actions.

## Scene 2 Act II Verses 9-10

וַעֲתָה בְּנִי שְׁמַע בְּקוֹלִי  
 לְאֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מַצִּיחַ אֹתְךָ:  
 לֶחֶמֶן אֶל-הַצֹּאֵן  
 וְקַח-לִי מִשָּׁם שְׁנֵי גִדְיֵי עִזִּים טֹבִים  
 וְאַעֲשֶׂה אֹתָם מִטְעָמִים לְאָבִיךָ כַּאֲשֶׁר אָהָב:  
 וְהִבֵּאתָ לְאָבִיךָ וְאָכַל  
 בְּעֵבֶר אֲשֶׁר יְבָרְכְּךָ לִפְנֵי מוֹתוֹ

There are two different final constructions in these verses. In the first, the “Nachsatz” is introduced by the syndetic cohortative **וְאָעֲשֶׂה**. The matrix of this sentence is constituted by the imperative chain **וְלָחֲזָא שְׂמַע** and **וְקַח־לִי**. There is a subject change between the matrix and the final sentence. The RSV correctly translates this construction as final “... fetch me two kids, that I may prepare from them ...” Likewise, Wenham (1987, 198) “... take from there two good kids, so that I may make ...” Both Speiser (1964, 203) “... fetch me from there two choice kids. I will prepare them ...” and Hamilton (1995, 214) “Go to the flock and fetch two choice kids. With them I will prepare ...” do not translate a subordinate relationship between the two constructions, but translate **וְאָעֲשֶׂה** as an independent sentence which, because of the syndesis, is not a viable option. NRSV and NIV translate it as a final sentence, “get me two choice kids so that I may prepare it”. Moreover, the Septuagint translates **וְאָעֲשֶׂה** with a simple future active **πολήσω**. It, therefore, also do not reflect the fact that **וְאָעֲשֶׂה** is in a dependent relationship with the previous imperatives.

The conjunctionless final **וְאָעֲשֶׂה** is followed by consecutive weqatals, **וְהִבָּאָה** and **וְאָכַל**. According to the position presented in this study, these weqatals are coordinated with **וְאָעֲשֶׂה** and express the consequence (and then, then, or “und dann” in German).<sup>7</sup> This view seems to be supported by the translations of Hamilton, Wenham and Speiser, “Then bring/take it to your father to eat.” The translation of the second weqatal with the English infinitive “to eat” by all commentators (see also RSV), however, is problematic as there is a subject change between the weqatals. My earlier criticism against this practice thus applies. One is tempted to translate “that he may eat” because of this subject change. KJV translated “that he may eat and that he may bless.” This translation is a bit clumsy. However, to be consistent with my

<sup>7</sup>See 4.4.3.2.6.



thesis that weqatal expresses result after a final sentence, one has to settle for this rather awkward translation, “then take it to your father, and then he will eat, that he may bless you”, to do justice to the construction in terms of my thesis.

The second final sentence is asyndetic and conjunctive. It is independent and, therefore, final to the preceding and expresses the purpose of Rebecca’s action. The matrix in this final construction, like the conjunctive final construction in verse 4-5, thus includes another final sentence. Conjunctionless constructions, since they are dependent on “Aufforderung” in the matrix, never occupy the “Nachsatz” of such sentences. The use of the final construction **אֲשֶׁר** **בְּעֵבֶר** seems purely for stylistic reasons and is not functionally different from the same construction without **אֲשֶׁר** or **לְמַעַן** or **אֲשֶׁר לְמַעַן**. This observation is in line with my findings regarding different final conjunctions expressed in Chapter 4, where I noted that the conjunctions appear to be interchangeable and are used as such for stylistic reasons without adding a special nuance of meaning.

### Scene 3 Verse 18

וַיָּבֹא אֶל-אָבִיו  
וַיֹּאמֶר אָבִי  
וַיֹּאמֶר הִנְנִי מִי אֶתָּה בְנִי  
וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב אֶל-אָבִיו אָנֹכִי עָשׂוּ בְכָרְךָ  
עָשִׂיתִי כְּאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ אֵלַי  
קוּם-נָא שָׁבָה  
וְאָכְלָה מִצִּידִי  
בְּעֵבֹר תִּבְרַכְנִי נַפְשְׁךָ:

This matrix comprises the imperative construction **קוּם-נָא שָׁבָה** followed by the syndetic imperative **וְאָכְלָה**. Notice that the second imperative **שָׁבָה** is asyndetic. The first imperative acts as a so-called desemanticized imperative, which I have alluded to in Chapter 5. Notice

that the verbal root is קום which supports my contention that desemanticized imperatives are restricted to the lexemes קום הלך and בוא. Notice also that the two imperatives are verbs of movement and thus express a semantic unit. The final sentence is introduced by the conjunction וְ. Contrary to my expectation the imperative chain is followed by a conjunctive final sentence, where the conjunctionless is to be expected (I have pointed out earlier that conjunctive final constructions have an imperative chain in the matrix whereas conjunctionless sentences prefer a weqatal construction after the initial imperative).

I do believe, however, that the writer has good reason to use this unusual, or shall I say unexpected form. I will return to this issue shortly. There is a subject change between the matrix קום-נָא שְׁבָה and the final sentence וְאָכְלָה מִצִּידִי. The final sentence has a 2<sup>nd</sup> person impersonal subject נִפְשִׁיךָ, which means that the writer is obligated to use a conjunctive construction, as conjunctionless final sentences do not cover the 2<sup>nd</sup> person subjects. NIV KJV and NRSV all try to indicate the second person subject. The KJV and NRSV translate, “so that you may bless me.”

The RSV translates “Now sit up and eat of my game, that I may bless you.” The expression “Now sit up” is the RSV’s attempt at rendering the construction קום-נָא שְׁבָה (cf. also Hamilton (1995, 218 ). Speiser (1964, 203) translates קום-נָא שְׁבָה as a polite request “Pray, sit up”, and Wenham translates it more crudely as “Come on, sit up.” I believe that the attempt by some translators to translate the imperatives as a polite request is a fallacy and goes against what the writer deliberately wants to express. The syntax militates against translating the imperatives a polite request as the writer uses the imperatives instead of the more customary



yiqtol which is used to express such request to a superior.<sup>8</sup> Wenham's almost abrupt "Come on, sit up" in my opinion, does justice to the expression and shows Jacob's impatience and edginess, for his father to get on with the job of eating and bless him. His impatience is due to the fact the he is nervous that his father will uncover his deception. In verse 25 the writer puts the normal or expected syntactic expression for a polite request in the mouth of Esau when he speaks to Isaac his father.

In verse 19, the writer uses all the means at his disposal to alert the reader of the deception that is taking place, and so highlights the abnormality of the situation. In response to Isaacs request for identification he makes Jacob reply **וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב אֶל-אָבִיו אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה בְּכָרֶךָ**. He therefore points out explicitly that it is Jacob who replies "I am Esau". He also uses the imperatives and sets the knowledgeable reader up to expect a conjunctionless construction, only to "deceive" with a conjunctionless construction. These imperatives used by Jacob to address his elderly father further underlines the abnormality of the situation. The writer further manipulates the syntax by introducing the 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject **נַפְשִׁיךָ** in the final sentence. This enables him to use a conjunctive construction **בְּעֵבוֹר הַתְּבַרְכָּנִי** in the final sentence and avoid the expected conjunctionless construction after the imperatives. I have pointed out that there are no recorded instances in our corpus in which conjunctionless final constructions have a 2<sup>nd</sup> person verbal form in the matrix.<sup>9</sup> These nuances, supported by my findings in Chapters 4 and 5, open up additional insights into the narrative.

The Septuagint also translates the construction as final, rendering it with *ὅπως εὐλογῇσῃ*, i.e. "in order that he may bless you."

<sup>8</sup>Compare 5.4.1.7. See also 1 Samuel 27:5 and 11 Samuel 13:5.

<sup>9</sup>See 5.4.1.7.

## Scene 3 Genesis 27:25

וַיֹּאמֶר הַגֶּשֶׁה לִּי  
וְאֶכְלָה מִצִּיד בְּנִי  
לְמַעַן תְּבָרֶכֶךָ נַפְשִׁי  
וַיִּגְשֶׁה לוֹ וַיֹּאכַל  
וַיָּבֵא לוֹ יֵין וַיִּשְׁתָּ:

This verse contains consecutive final sentences. The first is a conjunctionless construction  $\text{וְאֶכְלָה}$  followed by a conjunctive final sentence  $\text{לְמַעַן תְּבָרֶכֶךָ נַפְשִׁי}$ . The matrix is occupied by the imperative  $\text{הַגֶּשֶׁה}$  and the “Nachsatz” by the cohortative  $\text{וְאֶכְלָה}$ . The verb in the “Nachsatz” has a 1<sup>st</sup> person subject. Therefore, the writer uses a conjunctionless construction. Like verse 3, the second final sentence with  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  is asyndetic. The matrix consists of the entire preceding, including the first final sentence. This type of construction appears three times in Genesis 27, in all cases expressed by a conjunctive construction which supports my findings that this type can only be expressed by the conjunctive constructions.

The RSV’s translation, “Bring it to me, that I may eat of my son’s game and bless you” gives the impression, however, that the two final sentences are coordinated, which is not the case. Hamilton’s (1995, 218) translation seems to suggest that there is not a dependent relation between  $\text{הַגֶּשֶׁה}$  and  $\text{וְאֶכְלָה}$ . “Serve me, and let me eat some of my son’s game, so that I may bless you.” Speiser’s (1964, 203) translation is almost identical, “Serve it to me, and let me eat of my son’s venison, that I may give you my very own blessing.” The Septuagint translation approximates the above two translations. All these translations fail to give proper recognition of the first final sentence. There are compelling reasons for interpreting  $\text{וְאֶכְלָה}$  as a final sentence with  $\text{הַגֶּשֶׁה לִּי}$  as the matrix. Firstly, there is a subject change between the two



verbal forms. Secondly there is a change between the form of the verbals. I have argued that these two issues are determining factors for identifying final sentences. The translation by Wenham (1987, 198) best captures the essence of the construction in my opinion, “Bring it close to me that I may eat of my son’s game in order that my soul may bless you.”

#### Scene 4 Verse 31

וַיֵּשׁ גַּם־הוּא מִטַּעַמִּים וַיָּבֵא לְאָבִיו וַיֹּאמֶר  
יְקָם אָבִי וַיֹּאכַל מִצִּיד בְּנוֹ  
בְּעִבּוֹר תְּבָרַכְנִי נַפְשִׁי:

Two yiqtol verbal forms express the volition in the matrix. The final sentence is conjunctive and is introduced by בְּעִבּוֹר. The RSV interprets the yiqtol as expressing a request rather than a command. “Let my father arise and eat of his son’s game, that you may bless me.” This supports the understanding expressed concerning the address to a superior in Biblical Hebrew and further supports my suggestion that the imperatives in verse 19 should not be interpreted as a polite request, but was carefully chosen by the writer to make a particular point. Hamilton’s (1995, 218) translation, so also Wenham’s (1987, 198), “may my father arise ...”, and Speiser’s (1964) “Let my father please ...”. The writer, therefore, uses expressions that are in sharp contrast to the almost disrespectful address of Jacob in verse 19.

All these constructions are treated as final and are translated “that” by AB, RSV, NICOT and “so that” by WBC. The Septuagint uses the now familiar ὅπως εὐλογῇσῃ.

## 6.5 CONCLUSIONS

6.5.1 The analysis of Genesis 27 corroborates my findings in Chapter 4 that the conjunctions in conjunctive final sentences are interchangeable without necessarily altering the

meaning of the construction. Correspondingly, the choice of conjunction is based purely on stylistic reasons. The alternative usage of either **בְּעִבּוֹר אֲשֶׁר**, **בְּעִבּוֹר** or **לְמַעַן** in this chapter illustrates the interchangeability of these constructions. In this chapter **בְּעִבּוֹר** is used more often, whereas our findings indicate that **לְמַעַן** is the more popular and the standard construction. This investigation have shown that **בְּעִבּוֹר** is usually used to as an alternate construction to **לְמַעַן**.

6.5.2 The analysis also confirms that conjunctive and conjunctionless final constructions are not as interchangeable. The choice between the conjunctive and conjunctionless construction is, too a large extent, dependent on the person of the verb. When the verb has a 1<sup>st</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject, the Hebrew writer uses a conjunctionless construction. (See verses 3, 4, and 7). When a 2<sup>nd</sup> or a 3<sup>rd</sup> person impersonal subject is used, the conjunctive construction is preferred (See verses 4 and 19). The fact that the final sentences are often repeated, necessitates the change in construction and verbal person. This is because different speakers put distinct perspectives on the story.

6.5.3 Some constructions are only possible with conjunctionless expressions and further corroborate my contention that the range of conjunctive final constructions are far wider than that of the conjunctionless. This analysis supports the fact that whereas conjunctionless sentences are restricted to “Aufforderung” in the matrix, the same restriction does not apply to conjunctive final constructions whose matrixes could be constituted by another final construction (see verses 4 and 19).

6.5.4 The analysis also confirms that the syntax of conjunctionless and conjunctive constructions differs markedly. The conjunctionless seems to have a greater syntactic dependence on the preceding volition. The conjunctive construction appears to have



far less stringent syntactic dependence on the preceding. It does, however, show a greater semantic reliance on the preceding expression, as it draws a conclusion by stating the purpose of the aforementioned (cf. verses 4 and 19 with 7 and 25).

6.5.5 Thus, the analysis of Genesis 27 supports the hypothesis that conjunctive and conjunctionless final constructions are not simply alternate means to express the same meaning and, therefore, fully interchangeable. Each covers a different syntactic range and express distinct shades of meaning, e.g., v.31.

In closing, I have to say something about the question asked concerning the usage of different final constructions in this chapter. The question was, “Are these changes in the final constructions purely for stylistic reasons to avoid the monotony of repetition, or do these different syntactic expressions convey subtle shifts or shades in meaning?” The analysis shows that both of these suggestions are possibly true. Stylistic considerations do play a role. This is evident in the alternation of conjunctions used in conjunctive final constructions. These conjunctions are changes from *בְּעִבּוּר* to *אֲשֶׁר בְּעִבּוּר* or *לְמַעַן* without evidently affecting the meaning of the conjunctive construction or indicating a different shade of meaning.

The constant change of perspectives when the different speakers are introduced and the story is retold causes changes in the verbal person of the verb in the matrix and final sentences. This change in verbal person in the “Nachsatz” brings about changes in the construction open to the writer to use and results in subtle nuance shifts. Sometimes the introduction of an impersonal noun as in verses 4 and 19 also has the effect of changing the person of the subject of the verb and, as a result, determines the construction that can be used and the nuance to be expressed.

## CHAPTER 7

### SUMMARY

The general observation that Biblical Hebrew possesses a variety of ways in which final constructions can be realized was introduced as the basis for the study undertaken in this thesis. The main hypothesis to be investigated was formulated, viz., that the diversity of final constructions in Biblical Hebrew does not merely reflect different ways to express the same meaning, but that each syntactic construction carries definite semantic nuances. Although this investigation, for practical and logistical reasons, did not cover the entire range of syntactic possibilities to express a final relation in Biblical Hebrew, the hypothesis is nevertheless borne out by this study.

In Chapter 2, I stated the problem and provided an historical overview of the treatment of final constructions in Biblical Hebrew grammars. It was found that traditional grammars, because they are sentence based, have certain inherent limitations and, therefore, do not provide the linguistic means to adequately describe final constructions in Biblical Hebrew.

In Chapter 3, I explored the possibilities which modern textlinguistic approaches hold for the investigation of final constructions. I interrogated the approaches of Schneider, Talstra, Niccacci and Longacre. On the basis of the methodological insights gained from this analysis, I formulated my main hypotheses to be investigated.



In Chapter 4, I investigated final constructions introduced by final conjunctions, the so-called conjunctive final constructions, and evaluated them in the light of the hypotheses formulated in Chapter 3. The following represent the main observations from Chapter 4:

- The investigation has shown conclusively that conjunctive final constructions occur both in narrative and discourse texts.
- On the basis of the evidence supplied in the examples, I had to alter my initial thesis concerning *weqatal*. *Weqatal* should not be restricted to mainline in discourse, as Longacre and Niccacci suggested, but can also appear in the “Nachsatz” of final constructions. *Weqatal*, however, only appears as a consecutive final sentence after the initial conjunctive construction.
- It is difficult to differentiate between purpose and result in the “Nachsatz” of final constructions. Conjunctive final constructions, because they are modal, mostly express purpose instead of result. One should distinguish between intended and real result. When the conjunctive final sentence is co-ordinated with a *weqatal*, the former is modal and expresses intended result or purpose, whereas the latter is indicative and expresses a real result or consequence. It seems also that in cases where there is no subject change between the matrix and the final sentence, one is more likely to interpret a purpose rather than a result sentence.

In Chapter 5, I analyzed the conjunctionless final constructions. Insights gained from the investigation into the study of conjunctive final constructions in Chapter 4 prompted me to use different categories suited to yield results specific to conjunctionless final constructions. As with Chapter 4, I interrogated the hypothesis formulated in Chapter 3 concerning conjunctionless final constructions. The key results in Chapter 5 are formulated below:

- The investigation confirms that conjunctionless final constructions are restricted to discourse or direct speech.
- The examples and syntax also corroborate that conjunctive and conjunctionless constructions cover different domains. Whereas in the “Nachsatz” of conjunctive final constructions, the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons predominate, with the 1<sup>st</sup> person negligible, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons are the most common forms in the “Nachsatz” of conjunctionless final constructions, with no instances of 2<sup>nd</sup> person verbal forms.
- With regard to the question of the relationship between syntax and semantics, the investigation into conjunctionless final constructions demonstrated that both play a role in the interpretation of certain Bilical Hebrew constructions as expressing a final relation. However, it appears that in the interpretations of many translators, semantic criteria override syntactic considerations. In these cases, although the syntax suggests that a final relation is realized between two successive verbal forms, the translators, for semantic reasons, and for the sake of an acceptable translation into English, ignore the syntax.

In Chapter 6, an analysis of Genesis 27 was made. Genesis 27 is of special significance for this study, as it contains both conjunctionless and conjunctive final constructions in a coherent narrative. The text, by casting and recasting the arrangement that Isaac made regarding the future of his sons presents a classic study to compare the two categories of final constructions. The main findings of this chapter may be summarized as follows:

- The analysis of Genesis 27 corroborates my findings in Chapter 4 that the conjunctions in conjunctive final constructions are interchangeable without necessarily altering the meaning of the construction. Correspondingly, the choice of the conjunction is based purely on stylistic reasons. The alternative usage of either *למען* or *בעבור אשר*, *בעבור*



in Genesis 27 shows the interchangeability of these constructions. In Genesis 27 בִּעְבוֹר is used more often, whereas our findings indicate that לְמַעַן is the more popular and the standard construction, and that בִּעְבוֹר is only used as an alternate construction to לְמַעַן.

- The analysis of Genesis 27 confirms that conjunctive and conjunctionless final constructions are not interchangeable. The choice between the conjunctive and conjunctionless construction is, to a large extent, dependent on the person of the verb in the “Nachsatz”. When the verb has a 1<sup>st</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject, the Hebrew writer uses a conjunctionless construction. When a 2<sup>nd</sup> or a 3<sup>rd</sup> person impersonal subject is used, the conjunctive construction is preferred.
- Certain final constructions in Biblical Hebrew are only possible with conjunctionless expressions which corroborates my contention that the range of conjunctive final constructions are far wider than that of conjunctionless. This analysis of Genesis 27 confirms my observation that, whereas conjunctionless constructions are restricted to “Aufforderung” in the matrix, the same restriction does not apply to conjunctive final constructions whose matrix could be constituted by another final construction.

To conclude then:

- (i) From a methodological point of view textlinguistics do present novel challenges for the grammatical description of final constructions by:
  - (a) Shifting the focus of linguistic analysis from the sentence to the text, thereby allowing for a more inclusive description of final constructions, including an analysis of both the “Vordersatz” and “Nachsatz”.

- (b) Allowing for the description of the linguistic “Umwelt” of final constructions i.e., what constructions immediately follow final constructions, which constructions precede it or whether the final construction is part of discourse or of narrative texts. This investigation has shown that conjunctionless constructions are restricted to discourse texts, whereas conjunctive constructions occur in both discourse and narrative texts.
- (ii) From a syntactic point of view, this investigation showed that, in order to understand final constructions in Biblical Hebrew:
  - (a) The description of the “Vordersatz” (the verbal forms that occupy it, i.e., imperative, yiqtol, qatal, etc., whether it is direct speech or narrative, whether it is occupied by a verbal chain or a single verb), which had been neglected in traditional grammars, has implications for the “Nachsatz.”
  - (b) In determining formal criteria to identify functional significance, it is not sufficient to simply consider the verb, or the form of the verb (i.e., qatal, yiqtol, weqatal, etc.). The verbal person (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>) of the verb occupying the “Nachsatz” could also play a determining role in the syntactic choices open to the writer. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person verbal forms occupy the “Nachsatz” of conjunctionless final constructions, with no occurrences of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person. In the “Nachsatz” of conjunctive final constructions, the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons predominate, with the 1<sup>st</sup> person negligible.



- (iii) Even though a conscious decision has been made to focus on syntactic criteria, this study has shown that semantic criteria cannot be ignored in such an investigation. Therefore, the interplay between semantic and syntactic criteria in determining final relation is an area that warrants further research.

The investigation could not identify syntactic criteria to differentiate between the functional notions purpose and result. However, the distinction between real result and intended result shows that the question whether final constructions express purpose or result is irrelevant. It expresses both purpose and intended result, and the notions appear to be the opposite sides of the same coin. There seems to be no functional difference between the two notions as purpose is really intended result. In coordinated final sentences with weqatal as the second element it was suggested that the initial final clauses express purpose/intended result whereas coordinated weqatal clauses convey real result. An area that calls for further clarification is the problem of mood and modality. Although I made a few tentative suggestions in this regard, this problem is not limited to final constructions, but is generally neglected in Biblical Hebrew grammar.

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